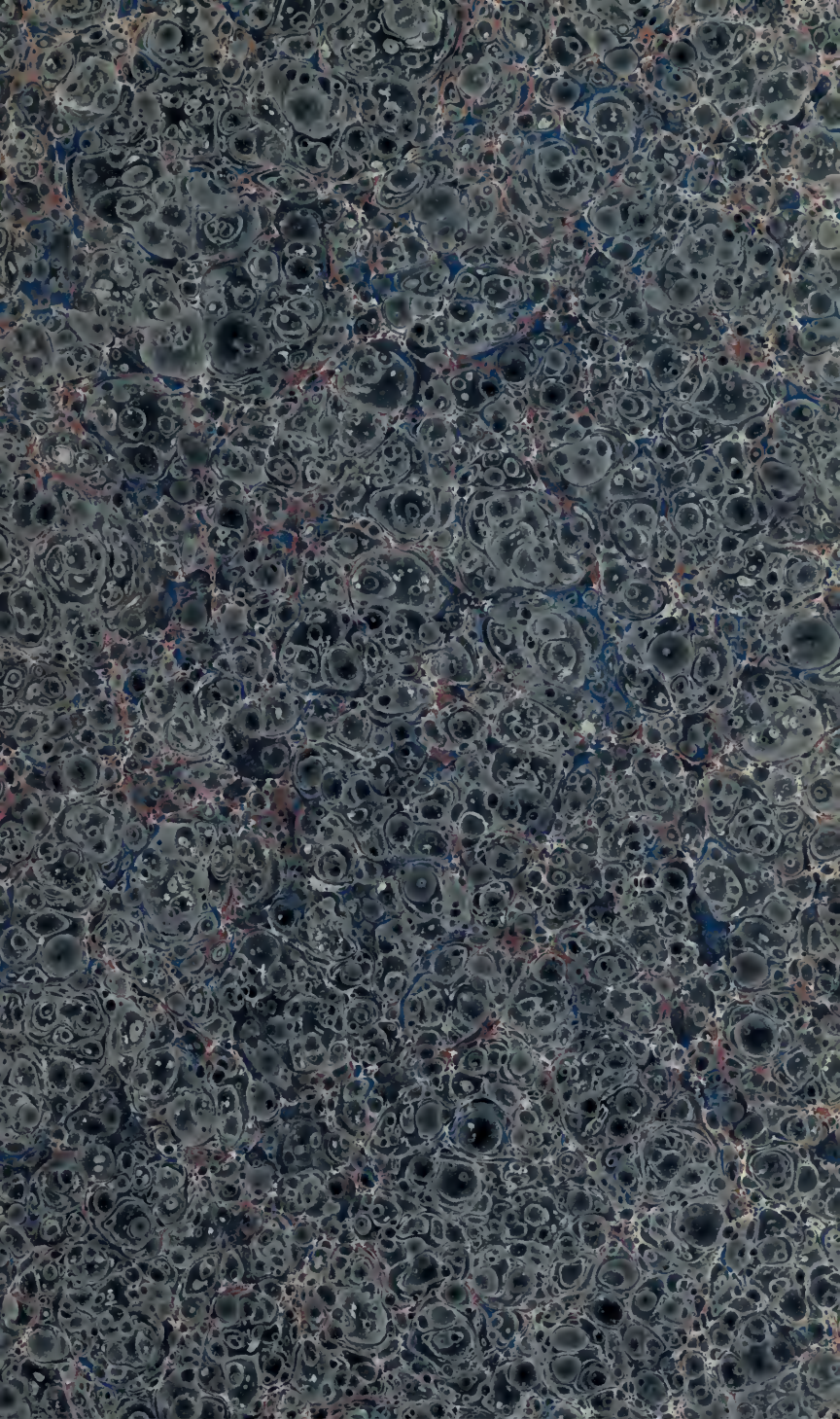
College
Lib.
PR
3334
B4
1826
v. 16

A
0011614740
UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY

lifornia
onal
ity

THE LIBRARY
OF
THE UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES

FROM THE LIBRARY OF
FRANK J. KLINGBERG



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/worksofrighthono16burkiala

THE

WORKS

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDMUND BURKE.

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. XVI.

CONTINUATION OF SPEECHES ON THE IMPEACHMENT OF MR. HASTINGS:—REPLY.

London:

PRINTED FOR C. & J. RIVINGTON,

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD;

AND WATERLOO-PLACE, PALL-MALL.

1827.

Luke Hansard & Sons,
near Lincoln's-Inn Fields, London.

College
Library
PR
3334
B4
1826
v.16

TRIAL

OF

WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 11th, 1794.

SIXTH DAY OF THE REPLY.

(MR. BURKE.)

MY LORDS,

YOUR Lordships will recollect that we closed the last day of your proceeding in this trial, at a most interesting part of our Charge, or rather of our observations upon that Charge. We closed at that awful moment when we found the first women of Oude, pillaged of all their landed and of all their monied property, in short of all they possessed. We closed by reciting to you the false pretence on which this pillage was defended, namely, that it was the work of the Nabob. Now we had before proved to you, from evidence adduced by the Prisoner himself, that this Nabob was a mere tool in his hands; and therefore if this pretence be true, it aggravates his guilt; for surely the forcing a son to

 violate

1567218

violate the property of his mother must every where be considered a crime most portentous and enormous. At this point we closed; and after the detail which has been given you already, of these horrible and iniquitous proceedings, some apology may perhaps be necessary for entering again into the refutation of this iniquitous pretence.

My honourable Fellow-manager who preceded me in this business, did, in his remarks upon the inference drawn by the Prisoner's Counsel from the seizure of the Begum's treasures by the Nabob, as evidence of their guilt, as he ought to do—he treated it with proper contempt. I consider it indeed to be as little an evidence of their guilt as he does, and as little a defence of that seizure as he does. But I consider it in another and in a new light, namely, as a heavy aggravation of the Prisoner's crimes, and as a matter that will let you into the whole spirit of his government; and I warn your Lordships against being imposed on by evasions, of which if it were possible for you to be the dupes, you would be unfit to be judges of the smallest matters in the world, civil or criminal.

The first observation which I shall beg leave to make to your Lordships, is this, that the whole of the proceedings from beginning to end has been a mystery of iniquity, and that in no part

part of them have the orders of the Company been regarded; but on the contrary the whole has been carried on in a secret and clandestine manner.

It is necessary that your Lordships should be acquainted with the manner in which the correspondence of the Company's servants ought to be carried on and their proceedings regulated; Your Lordships, therefore, will please to hear read, the orders given concerning correspondence of every kind with the Country Powers. You will remember the period when these orders were issued, namely, the period at which the Act passed for the better direction of the servants of the Company. By this Act Mr. Hastings was appointed to be Governour General, and the Court of Directors was required by that Act, to prepare orders and instructions, which Mr. Hastings was required, by the same Act, to comply with. You will see what these instructions and orders were, and in what manner he has complied with them.

Extract of general instructions to the Governour General and Council, 29th of March 1774:—"We direct that you assemble in Council "twice every week, and that all the Members "be duly summoned; that the correspondence "with the Princes or Country Powers in India, "be carried on by the Governour General only,

" but that all letters sent by him be first ap-
" proved in Council, and that he lay before the
" Council, at their next meeting, all letters
" received by him in the course of such corre-
" spondence, for their information. We like-
" wise direct, that a copy of such parts of the
" country correspondence, be communicated to
" our Board of Trade, (to be constituted as
" hereinafter mentioned), as may any ways
" relate to the business of their department."

You will observe, my Lords, two important circumstances in these instructions. First, that after the Board had regularly met, the Persian correspondence, kept by the Governour only, was to be communicated to the Council; and secondly, that he should write no answer to any part of the business until he had previously consulted the Council upon it. Here is the law of the land; an order given in pursuance of an Act of Parliament. Your Lordships will consider how Mr. Hastings comported himself with regard to those orders: for we charge it as a substantive crime, independent of the criminal presumptions arising from it, that he violated an Act of Parliament, which imposed direct instructions upon him, as to the manner in which he was to conduct all matters of business with the Native Powers.

My Lords, we contend strongly that all the positive rules and injunctions of the law, though they

they are merely positive and do not contain any thing but mere matters of regulation, shall be strictly observed. The reason is this, and a serious reason it is:—official tyranny and oppression, corruption, peculation, and bribery, are crimes so secret in their nature, that we can hardly ever get to the proof of them, without the assistance of rules, orders and regulations of a positive nature, intended to prevent the perpetration of these crimes, and to detect the offender in case the crimes should be actually perpetrated. You ought therefore to presume, that, whenever such rules or laws are broken, these crimes are intended to be committed; for you have no means of security against the commission of secret crimes, but by enforcing positive laws, the breach of which must be always plain, open, and direct. Such, for instance, is the spirit of the laws, that although you cannot directly prove bribery or smuggling in a hundred cases where they have been committed; you can prove whether the proper documents, proper cockets, proper entries in regular offices have been observed and performed, or not. By these means you lock the door against bribery; you lock the door against corruption, against smuggling, and contraband trade; but how, by falling upon and attacking the offence? No, by falling upon and attacking the breach of the regnlation.

You prove that the man broke the regulation, and as he could have no other motive or interest in breaking it, you presume that he broke it fraudulently, and you punish the man not for the crime the regulation was meant to prevent, but you punish him for the breach of the regulation itself.

Next to the breach of these positive instructions, your Lordships will attend to the consequent concealment and mystery by which it was accompanied. All government must, to preserve its authority, be sincere in its declarations, and authentick in its acts. Whenever in any matter of policy there is a mystery, you must presume a fraud; whenever in any matter of money there is concealment, you must presume misconduct; you must therefore affix your punishment to the breach of the rule; otherwise the conviction of publick delinquents would be unattainable.

I have therefore put before you that rule which he has violated; and we the Commons call upon your Lordships to enforce that rule, and to avenge the breach of it. You have seen the consequences of breaking the rule; and we have charged and do charge it as a heavy aggravation of those consequences; that instead of consulting the Council, instead of laying the whole correspondence before them, instead of

consulting

consulting them upon his answers, he went himself up into the country, took His Majesty's Chief Justice along with him, and made that person the instrument of those wrongs, violences, robberies, and concealments, which we call upon your Lordships to punish.

My Lords, an extraordinary circumstance occurred in the course of our proceedings, in another place, which I must state to shew you in what a horrible manner your laws have been trampled upon and despised. None of the proceedings which have been last stated to your Lordships, respecting the seizure of the treasures of the Begums, appear upon any publick record whatever. From the manner in which they came to our knowledge, your Lordships will perceive what must have been the Prisoner's own opinion of the horrible nature of proceedings, which he thought so necessary to be concealed.

Whilst we were inquiring into the violences committed against the Begums, in breach of the treaty entered into with them, there came into my hands an anonymous letter, containing a full account of all the matter which has lately been stated to you. It came anonymously; and I did not know from what quarter it came. I do not even know with certainty at this hour. I say, not with certainty, for I can only form a

conjecture. This anonymous communication enabled us to produce all the correspondence with Mr. Middleton respecting the cruelties exercised towards the Begums and their eunuchs, in order to extort money. We found the names of Major Gilpin and several other persons in these letters. We also found in them a strong fox smell of a Sir Elijah Impey, that his brush and crime had left behind him; we traced him by that scent; and as we proceeded we discovered the footsteps of as many of the wolves as Mr. Hastings thought proper to leave there. We sent for and examined Mr. Middleton, and Major Gilpin produced his correspondence. When we applied to Mr. Middleton, we found that all this part of his correspondence had been torn out of his book. But having come at it by means of our anonymous communication we subsequently proved and established it, in the manner we have done, before your Lordships. Here then you have important matter which this anonymous letter has brought to light; and otherwise the whole of this correspondence so essential to the interests and justice of Great Britain would have been concealed by this wicked man. Thus I say, his violation of a positive law would have remained undiscovered, if mere accident had not enabled us to trace this iniquity to its source. Therefore I begin

our

our proceedings this day, by stating to your Lordships this fact, and by calling upon your justice to punish him for this violation of the laws of his country.

We have told you who the instruments were, by which all this wickedness was committed, Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnson, persons who were sent as ambassadors to represent the interests of the Company at the court of an independent Prince. Over this Prince they usurped an absolute power, they even made use of British officers in his own service, and receiving his pay, to enslave his person, and to force him to rob his kindred. These agents were aided by an English Chief Justice, sent under the authority of an Act of Parliament to represent the Sovereign Majesty of English justice; and to be a restraint upon the misconduct of the Company's servants. These are the instruments with which this man works. We have shewn you his system; we have shewn you his instruments; we will now proceed with the examination of the pretences upon which this horrid and nefarious act is attempted to be justified. We have not entered into this examination for the sake of refuting things that want no refutation, but for the purpose of shewing you the spirit of the whole proceeding, and making it appear to your Lordships, as I trust

it will appear, that the wicked act done there is not half so bad as the wicked defence made here.

The first part of Sir Elijah Impey's commission, as your Lordships will remember, was to seize upon the Begums treasures. He had likewise another budget of instructions, which has been discovered in the trunks of which your Lordships have heard,—secret instructions to be given by him to Mr. Middleton, for the furtherance of this business. And that his office of Chief Justice should not lie dormant, he was commissioned to seek for affidavits, or written testimony from any persons, for the purpose of convicting these women of a design of atrociously revolting against their son, and deposing him from the government, with a view of getting rid of the English inhabitants. This was the accusation;—and the evidence to support it Sir Elijah Impey was sent to collect.

My Lords, I must here observe to your Lordships, that there is no act of violence which, merely as an act of violence, may not in some sort be borne; because an act of violence infers no principle; it infers nothing but a momentary impulse of a bad mind, proceeding, without law or justice, to the execution of its object. For at the same time that it pays no regard to law, it does not debauch it; it does

not

not wrest it to its purposes. The law disregarded, still exists; and hope still exists in the sufferer, that, when law shall be resorted to, violence will cease, and wrongs will be redressed; but whenever the law itself is debauched, and enters into a corrupt coalition with violence, robbery, and wrong, then all hope is gone; and then it is not only private persons that suffer, but the law itself when so corrupted is often perverted into the worst instrument of fraud and violence. It then becomes most odious to mankind, and an infinite aggravation of every injury they suffer.

We have therefore in our Charge strongly reprobated Sir Elijah Impey's going to take such affidavits—Oh, but they say a judge may take an affidavit, in his chamber privately, and he may take an affidavit, though not exactly in the place of his jurisdiction, to authenticate a bond, or the like. We are not to be cheated by words. It is not dirty shreds of worn out parchments, the sweepings of Westminster Hall, that shall serve us in place of that justice upon which the world stands. Affidavits! We know that in the language of our courts, affidavits do not signify a body of evidence to sustain a criminal charge, but are generally relative to matter in process collateral to the charge, which, not coming before the jury, are made known to the judge by way of affidavit.

But

But was it ever heard, or will it be borne, that a person exercising a judicial office under His Majesty should walk beyond the sphere of his jurisdiction? That he should desert the station in which he was placed for the protection of the natives, and should march to such a place as Lucknow in order to take depositions for criminating persons in that country, without so much as letting these poor victims know one article in the depositions so taken? These depositions, my Lords, were made to criminate; they were meant to justify a forfeiture; and are not in the nature of those voluntary affidavits which, whether made within jurisdiction or without, whether made publicly or privately, signify comparatively nothing to the cause. I do not mean to say, that any process of any court has not its weight when the matter is within it in the ordinary course of proceedings; it is the extraordinary course, the extrajudicial conduct which divests it of that just weight it otherwise would have.

This Chief Justice goes to Lucknow, where he holds his court, such as it was. He is ready to authenticate any process, by the signature of The English Chief Justice, in a court which he holds by night; in a court which he holds in darkness and secrecy. He holds his court in Fyzabad: he holds it unknown to the Nabob of Oude, in his own capital, and without giving him the

the least knowledge of or any notice of what he was proceeding to do. He holds it at the lodgings of Colonel Morgan, a pensioner of the Nabob, and the person assisting him is Mr. Middleton, who is likewise, as we have proved to you, one of the Nabob's pensioners, a monopolizer of trade in the country, and a person who received much the major part of his emoluments from the Nabob's hands.

In that clandestine manner, in the Nabob's own house, in his own capital city, in the lodging of his dependent and pensioner Colonel Morgan, with no other witness that we know of, than Mr. Middleton, was this iniquitous, dark procedure held, to criminate the mother of the Nabob. We here see a scene of dark mysterious contrivance; let us now see what is brought out in the face of open day. The attestations themselves, which you have seen on the record before you. They were brought out; where? there? No; they were brought out in another place; they were brought out at Calcutta; but were never communicated to the Nabob. He never knew any thing of the matter. Let us now see what those attestations were: your Lordships will bear in mind that I do not advert to this thing, which they bring as evidence, in the way of imputation of its being weak, improper, and insufficient evidence, but as an incontrovertible proof

proof of crimes, and of a systematick design to ruin the accused party, by force there and by chicane here; these are the principles upon which I am going to talk to you upon this abominable subject; of which, I am sorry to say, I have no words sufficient to express my horrour. No words can express it; nor can any thing but the severity of your Lordships judgments find an adequate expression of it. It is not to be expressed in words, but in punishment.

Having stated before whom the evidence collected in this body of affidavits was taken, I shall now state who the persons were that gave it; they were those very persons who were guilty of robbing and ruining the whole country: yes, my Lords, the very persons who had been accused of this in the mass, by Mr. Hastings himself. They were nothing less than the whole body of those English officers, who were usurping the office of farmers general, and other lucrative offices in the Nabob's government, and whose pillage and peculations had raised a revolt of the whole kingdom against themselves. These persons are here brought in a mass to clear themselves of this charge, by criminating other persons, and clandestinely imputing to them the effect of their own iniquity.

But supposing these witnesses to be good for anything, supposing it fit that the least attention should

should be paid them; the matter of their testimony may very possibly be true without criminating the Begum; it criminates Saadit Ali Khan, the brother of the Nabob; the word Begum is never mentioned in the crimination but in conjunction with his, and much the greater part of it criminates the Nabob himself. Now, my Lords, I will say, that the matter of these affidavits, forgetting who the deponents were, may possibly be true, as far as respects Saadit Ali Khan; but that it is utterly as improbable, which is the main point and the stress of the thing, with respect to the Begums, as it is impossible with respect to the Nabob. That Saadit Ali, being a military man, a man ambitious and aspiring to greatness, should take advantage of the abuses of the English government and of the discontent of the country, that he should I say raise a revolt against his brother, is very possible; but it is scarcely within possibility, that the mother of the Nabob should have joined with the illegitimate son against her legitimate son. I can only say that in human affairs, there is the possibility of truth in this. It is possible she might wish to depose her legitimate son, her only legitimate son, and to depose him for the sake of a bastard son of her husband's, to exalt him at the expence of the former, and to exalt of course the mother of that bastard

at

at her own expence, and to her own wrong. But I say, that this, though possible, is grossly improbable. The reason why the Begum is implicated in this charge with Saadit Ali, by the affidavits, cannot escape your notice. Their own acquittal might be the only object of the deponents, in their crimination of the latter: but the treasures of the former were the objects of their employers, and these treasures could not be come at but by the destruction of the Begums.

But, my Lords, there are other affidavits, or whatever your Lordships may call them, that go much further. In order to give a colour to the accusation, and make it less improbable, they say, that the Nabob himself was at the bottom of it; and that he joined with his brother and his mother to extirpate out of his dominions that horrible grievance, the English brigade officers;—those English officers who were the farmers general, and who, as we have proved by Mr. Hastings's own evidence, had ruined the country. Nothing is more natural, than that a man, sensible of his duty to himself and his subjects, should form a scheme to get rid of a band of robbers, that were destroying his country, and degrading and ruining his family. Thus, you see, a family compact naturally accounted for. The Nabob at the head of it; his

his mother joining her own son, and a natural brother joining in the general interests of the family. This is a possible case. But is this the case pressed by them? No, they pass slightly over the legitimate son. They scarcely touch upon Saadit Ali Khan; they sink the only two persons that could give probability or possibility to this business, and endeavour to throw the whole design upon these two unfortunate women.

Your Lordships see the wickedness and baseness of the contrivance. They first, in order to keep the whole family in terrour, accuse the whole family; then having possessed themselves of the treasures of the Begums upon another pretence, they endeavour to fix upon them that improbable guilt which they had with some degree of probability charged upon the whole family, as a farther justification of that spoliation. Your Lordships will see what an insult is offered to the Peers of Great Britain, in producing before you, by way of defence, such gross, scandalous, and fraudulent proceedings.

Who the first set of witnesses were, which they produced before their knight errant Chief Justice Sir Elijah Impey, who wandered in search of a law adventure, I have laid open to your Lordships. You have now had an account of the scandalous manufacture of that batch of

affidavits which was in the budget of Sir Elijah Impey; that Pandora's box which I have opened, and out of which has issued every kind of evil. This Chief Justice went up there with the death warrant of the Begums' treasures, and, for aught he knew, the death warrant of their persons. At the same time that he took these affidavits, he became himself a witness in this business; he appears as a witness; How? Did he know any one circumstance of the rebellion? No, he does not even pretend to do so. But, says he, in my travels I was obliged to avoid Fyzabad, upon account of the suspected rebellion there. Another Chief Justice would have gone fifty miles about to avoid Lucknow, for every body knows that Lucknow was the focus and centre of extortion, corruption, and peculation; and that a worse air for the lungs of a Chief Justice could not be found in the world. If his lungs wanted the benefit of pure air, he would even have put himself in the focus of a rebellion, to have kept at a distance from the smell of carrion and putrid corruption of every kind that was at Lucknow.

A Chief Justice may go to a place where a rebellion is raging, he may die a martyr to his honour. But a Chief Justice who puts himself into the focus of peculation, into the focus of bribery, into the focus of every thing that is

base

base and corrupt; what can we expect from him but that he will be engaged in clandestine jobs there! The former might kill Sir Elijah Impey, the knight errant, but the Chief Justice would remain pure and entire; whereas Sir Elijah Impey has escaped from Lucknow, and the Chief Justice is left by Mr. Hastings to shift for himself.

After mentioning this violation of the laws of hospitality by Sir Elijah Impey, I would ask, was any notice given by him, or by any of Mr. Hastings's agents, to the Nabob, who was so immediately interested in this matter? Was any notice given to the Begums, that any such charge was entertained against them? Not a word. Was it notified to the eunuchs? Was it to Saadit Ali Khan? Not a word; they were all within their power. The eunuchs were a year in irons, and they were subjected to the want of food and water, for a part of that year. They were dragged from Fyzabad to Lucknow, and from Lucknow to Fyzabad. During all that time, was there a word mentioned to them by any one person on the part of Mr. Hastings, that they were accused of this matter? Not a word.

We now submit to your Lordships vindictive justice and condemnation this recriminatory defence, in which every principle of justice has

been violated; and now I will ask your Lordships, whether you would have suffered such a procedure in the case of the Prisoner at your bar? It was asked by a person of great authority in this House, when we were going to produce certain evidence against Mr. Hastings, (we do not say whether we offered to produce it properly or improperly, that is another matter) we were asked, I say, whether our intentions of producing that evidence had been communicated to Mr. Hastings? Had he had an opportunity of cross-examining the witnesses who had given that evidence? No; he added, that evidence must be rejected. Now I say to your Lordships, upon the same ground, deal with the Begums as you dealt with Mr. Hastings. Do not keep two weights and measures for different persons in the same cause. You would not suffer such evidence to be produced against him; you will not assuredly suffer such evidence to be produced to you in his favour and against them.

My Lords, the cause between this man and these unfortunate women is at last come into Westminster Hall. The cause is come to a solemn trial: and we demand other witnesses and other kinds of proof than what these affidavits furnish. My Lords, the persons who have been examined here are almost all of them the same persons who made these affidavits; but there is this

this material difference in their evidence. At your Lordships bar they sunk all those parts of their former evidence which criminated the Nabob and Saadit Ali, and confined their testimony wholly to what related to the Begums. We were obliged, by a cross examination, to squeeze out of them the disavowal of what they had deposed on the former occasion. The whole of their evidence we leave to the judgment of your Lordships, with these summary remarks,—first, that they are the persons who were to profit by their own wrong: they are the persons who had seven months arrears paid to them out of the money of these unfortunate ladies: they are the persons who, to justify the revolt which they had caused in the country by their robbery, charge their own guilt upon others. The credibility of their evidence is therefore gone; but, if it were not affected by these circumstances, Mr. Hastings has put an end to it by telling you, that there is not one of them who is to be credited upon his oath; no, not in a court martial; and can it therefore be expected, that in a case of peculation, they will do otherwise than acquit the party accused? He has himself laid before you the horrible state of the whole service; your Lordships have it fresh in your memories, and ringing in your ears. You have also heard from witnesses

brought by Mr. Hastings himself, that these soldiers committed misdemeanours of the very same kind with those which we have stated. They ought not therefore to be listened to for a moment; and we aver that it is an aggravation of the Prisoner's crimes, that he has brought the instruments of his guilt, the persons of whom he has complained as having ruined and destroyed that country, and whom he had engaged at the Nabob's desire, in the treaty of Chunar, to send out of the country, as being a nuisance in it; to bring, I say, these people here, to criminate, at a distance of nine thousand miles, these unfortunate women, where they have neither attorney or agent who can from local knowledge cross-examine them. He has the audacity to bring these people here; and in what manner they comport themselves when they come here, your Lordships have seen.

There is one of them whom we cannot pass by; that is Captain Gordon. The other witnesses, who appeared here as evidences to criminate the Begums, did it by rumours and hearsays. They had heard some person say that the Begums had encouraged rebellion, always coupling them with Saadit Ali Khan, and sometimes with the Nabob, because there might have been some probability for their charge in the transactions with Saadit Ali Khan, which,

though impossible with regard to the Begums, they thought would implicate him in his designs. But Captain Gordon is to give a different account of the proceedings.

Captain Gordon was one of Colonel Hannay's under-farmers—he was hunted out of the country, and, as one of the Begums says, pursued by a thousand of the Zemindars, for robbing the whole country. This woman, through respect to the British name, that name which guaranteed her possessions to her, receives this Captain Gordon and Captain Williams with every mark of kindness, hospitality, and protection, that could be given them. She conveys them from the borders to the city of Fyzabad, and from Fyzabad, her capital, supposed to be the nest of her rebellion, on to their place of destination. They both write her letters full of expressions of gratitude and kindness for the services that they had received. They then pass on to Lucknow to Sir Elijah Impey, and there they sink every word of kindness—of any service or protection that they had received;—or of any acknowledgment that they had ever made of it. They sink all this, not one word of it appears in their affidavits.

How then did we come to the knowledge of it? We got it from Major Gilpin, who was examined in the course of these proceedings,

and we used it in our Charge, from the papers that we hold in our hands. Mr. Hastings has confessed the fact, and Mr. Middleton has endeavoured to slur it over, but could not completely conceal it. We have established the fact, and it is in evidence before your Lordships.

You have now then, in this manner, got these testimonials given by English officers in favour of these women; and by the same means the letters of the latter accusing the former are come to your hands; and now these same English Officers come here with their recriminatory accusation. Now, why did they not make it at Lucknow? Why did not Mr. Hastings, when Mr. Middleton had such papers for him in his hands, why, I ask, did not Mr. Hastings procure some explanation of the circumstances whilst he was in India? I will read your Lordships the letter, that you may not only know, but feel the iniquity of this business.

Letter from the Mother of the Vizier to Mr. Hastings, received the 6th of January 1782.

"Our situation is pretty well, and your good "health is constantly prayed for. I had sent "Behar Ali Khan to you. Accordingly people "invented a falsehood, that Behar Ali Khan "was gone to get the deputyship of the Soubah;

and

" and some persons here were saying, where-
" fore has she sent Behar Ali Khan to Calcutta
" to the Nawab Amaud ul Dowlah? We will
" never permit the affair to succeed: and ac-
" cordingly it has so happened. For they say,
" that you also have not put your seal to the
" treaty: and the people here say, why does
" the noble lady correspond with the English
" gentlemen? On this account, I did not send
" a letter at the time when you came this way.
" Now the state of affairs here is thus;—On
" the 27th Zehedja, Azoph ul Dowlah Behadur,
" without my knowledge, sent his own aumils
" into my jaghire. I accordingly wrote several
" times to Mr. Middleton on this business; that
" his seal was to the treaty and writing of dis-
" charge; Why did he not negotiate in my
" favour? Mr. Middleton replied, the Nawab
" is the master. I wrote frequently, but with-
" out effect. Being helpless, I represent to
" you the state of my affairs, that notwithstand-
" ing the existence of this treaty, I have been
" treated in this manner. It is useless for me
" to stay here. Whatever is, is a compact;
" whenever any one deviates from his compact,
" he meets with no credit for the future; and
" the light of mine eyes, Asoph ul Dowlah,
" wrote to me, that he had sent his own aumils
" into my jaghires, and would pay ready money

from

" from his treasury. Reflect on my security " for his adhering to his future engagements, " from the consideration of his conduct under " his past promises. I do not agree to his " ready money. Let me have my jaghire as " formerly; otherwise, leaving this place, I will " wait on you at Benares, and thence will go " towards Shah Jehan Abad, because he has " not adhered to his engagement. Send letters " to Azoph ul Dowlah and to Mr. Middleton " and Hussein Reza Khan and Hyder Beg " Khan, not to molest the Begum's jaghire; " and to let them remain as formerly with the " Begum's aumils. And it is here suspected of " me, that my aumil plundered the property " of Mr. John Gordon. The case is this: " Mr. John Gordon arrived at Tanda, a jaghire " of mine, fighting with the Zemindars of " Akberpoor, which belongs to the Khalsch. " Accordingly, Mr. John Gordon having come " to Tanda, my aumil performed whatever ap- " pertained to his duty. Afterwards Mr. John " Gordon wrote to me to send my people, that " he might come with them to Fyzabad. I sent " people accordingly to bring Mr. John Gor- " don; and the said gentleman arrived here in " complete safety: and Mr. John Gordon is " now present. Ask him yourself of these " matters. Mr. John Gordon will represent

" matters

" matters in detail: the truth will then become
" known, how ill founded the calumny is.
" Should you come here for a few days it will
" be very well, and if not, I will wait on you;
" and your coming here is very necessary, that
" all my affairs may become arranged. And
" send a speedy answer to my letters, and a let-
" ter to Azoph ul Dowlah, and Mr. Middleton,
" and Hussein Reza Khan, and Hyder Beg
" Khan, on the subject of ceasing to molest
" my jaghires; and send me constantly news
" of your health, for my peace of mind depends
" thereon."

This letter was transmitted to Mr. Hastings. I desire your Lordships will remark upon this letter, for it is a most important one indeed. It is hardly worth observing that all this correspondence came out of the various trunks; of which your Lordships have already heard, and that this letter is out of the trunk of Mr. Hastings's private Persian secretary and interpreter Mr. Jonathan Scott. Now, my Lords, in this letter there are several things worthy of your Lordships observation. The first is, that this woman is not conscious of having ever been accused of any rebellion; the only accusation that ever came to her ears was, that Captain Gordon said, that his baggage had been robbed by one of her aumils. She denies

the

the truth of this charge; and she produces testimonials of their good behaviour to him; and, what is the essential point of all, she desires Mr. Hastings to apply to this Mr. John Gordon, and to know from him what truth or falsehood there is in that accusation, and what weight there is in the attestation she produces. "Mr. Gordon is now present," says she, "ask him yourself of these matters." This reasonable request was not complied with. Mr. Gordon swears before Sir Elijah Impey, to the robbery; but he never mentions the paper he had written, in which he confessed that he owed his life to this very lady. No inquiry was made into this matter. Colonel Hannay was then alive; Captain Gordon was alive and she refers to him; yet that very man was sworn before Sir Elijah Impey, and accuses his prisoner. Did the prisoner at your bar make that attestation known to the Begums, whose letter at that very time was in his possession in Mr. Scott's trunk—that very letter in which he is desired to make the inquiry from Captain Gordon?

Mr. Hastings is acquainted with the facts stated by the Begums and with Captain Gordon's accusation. Did he afterwards inform her of this accusation, or did he ask this Captain Gordon one question in India, where the matter might be ventilated? Not one word my Lords; therefore

therefore we fix upon him fraud, deceit, and the production of false evidence, after the woman had desired to have the man, who was the evidence against her, examined upon the spot. This he does not do, but with much more prudence he brings him here. And for what? To discredit his own testimony, and the written evidence. And how does he discredit them? —there are two of these papers, which I beg leave to read to your Lordships.

Copy of a letter to Jewar and Behar Ali Khan, from Mr. Gordon:—"Sirs. My indulgent "friends, remain under, &c. &c. &c. After "compliments, I have the pleasure to inform "you, that yesterday, having taken leave of "you, I passed the night at Noorgunge, and "next morning, about ten or eleven o'clock, "through your favour and benevolence, arrived "safe at Gooudah. Mur Aboo Buhsh Zemin-"dar and Mur Rustum Ally accompanied "me."

"To what extent can I prolong the praises "of you my beneficent friends? May the Su-"preme Being, for this benign, compassionate, "humane action, have you in his keeping, and "increase your property, and speedily grant me "the pleasure of an interview, until which time "continue to favour me with friendly letters, "and oblige me by any commands in my power

"to

"to execute; may your wishes be ever crowned "with success! My compliments," &c. &c. &c.

Copy of an address from Mr. Gordon to the Begum:—"Begum Saib of exalted dignity and "generosity, whom God preserve. After pre- "senting the usual professions of servitude, &c. "in the customary manner, my address is pre- "sented."

"Your gracious letter, in answer to the peti- "tion of your servant, from Gooudah, exalted "me. From the contents, I became unspeak- "ably impressed with the honour it conferred. "May the Almighty protect that royal purity, "and bestow happiness, increase of wealth and "prosperity. The welfare of your servant is "intirely owing to your favour and benevolence; "a few days have elapsed since I arrived at "Gooudah, with the Colonel Saib."

"This is presented for your highness's infor- "mation, I cherish hopes from your generosity, "that considering me in the light of one of your "servants, always continue to exalt and honour "me with your gracious letters. May the sun "of prosperity continually shine."

These acknowledgments of the Begum's friendly disposition and services were concealed, when the charge was made against this woman at Lucknow before Sir Elijah Impey: I wish to impress this upon your Lordships' mind; and that

before

before Mr. Hastings left Bengal, in the trunk of Major Scott, his private Persian interpreter, was this letter. Did he make that inquiry of Captain Gordon? No. Did he make that inquiry of Colonel Hannay? Did he make any inquiry into the matter after his perusal of these letters; or did he give this poor woman any opportunity of obtaining justice against this Captain Gordon, who, after acknowledging that he owed his life to her favour, calumniates and traduces her to her utter destruction? No, he never did, and therefore he is chargeable, and I charge him with every thing that is wrongful in Captain Gordon's evidence.

These papers, which carry with them a clear refutation of all the charges against the Begums, are never once produced, though Captain Gordon was referred to expressly for inquiry and explanation of the whole transaction, by the woman herself. You hear nothing of them; there is no appearance of them in the affidavits; no such papers were laid before the Supreme Council; none were transmitted to the Court of Directors: but at last the House of Commons having come at the truth of this matter, Mr. Hastings, not daring to deny the existence of these papers, brings Captain Gordon to be examined here, in order to prove that papers which he had himself written were false. Is this to be tolerated? What

will

will your Lordships think of a man that comes to attest his own infamy; to declare that he has written papers containing falsehoods, and to invalidate the false testimony which he had before given? Is he to be suffered, I say, to come here, and endeavour to prove the absolute falsity of his own deeds, by his own evidence?

The next point for your Lordships' consideration, is the evidence which he produces to prove the falsity of a paper written by himself. Why, he himself is the sole evidence. And how does he prove it? Why, says he, the reason of my writing that letter was this, she had sent a person with me as an escort, and this person was desirous of receiving some proof that he had done his duty; and, therefore, I wrote a complaisant letter. I meant nothing by it. It was written merely to satisfy the mind of the man. Now, is that the way in which formal and solemn letters, written upon great occasions to great people, are to be explained away? If he had said nothing but—your servant—such a one, has done his duty,—this explanation might pass. But, you see, it has another complexion. It speaks of his owing his life to her. But if you admit that it is possible, (for possibilities have an unknown extent,) that he wrote such a letter at such a time, and for such a purpose; and that the letter he wrote was false, and that the falsity

of

of the letter is proved by his own testimony, given in an affidavit, which we have also reason to believe is false, your Lordships must at the same time admit, that it is one of the most complex pieces of fraud and falsehood that I believe ever existed in the world. But it is worse than all this. There is another letter, written some days after, which I will read to you, and which he has not pretended to say was written only to testify that a messenger had executed his commission properly:—"Your gracious letter," (he thus writes,)—"in answer to the petition of your servant from Gooudah, exalted me. From the contents, I became unspeakably impressed with the honour it conferred."

My Lords, this letter was not sent back by a messenger, in acknowledgment of his having done his duty; but was written in consequence of a correspondence in the nature of a petition, for something or other, which he made to the Begum. That petition they have suppressed and sunk. It is plain, however, that the petition had been sent, and was granted; and therefore the apology that is made for the former letter does not apply to this letter, which was written afterwards.

How then do they attempt to get rid of this difficulty? Why, says Captain Gordon, "*the Colonel Saib*, (by whom was meant Colonel

Hannay) was not at Gooudah, as stated in the letter, but at Succara, about eighteen miles from it, and therefore you ought not to pay much regard to this paper :" but he does not deny the letter, nor was it possible for him to deny it. He says, Colonel Hannay was not there; but how do we know whether Colonel Hannay was there or not? We have only his own word for it,—but supposing he was not there, and that it was clearly proved that he was eighteen miles distant from it, Major Naylor was certainly with Captain Gordon at the time. Might not his Persian scribe (for he does not pretend to say he wrote the letter himself) take Major Naylor for a colonel (for he was the superior officer to Captain Gordon) and think him the Colonel Saib? for errours of that kind may be committed in our own country. Every day we may take a major for a lieutenant colonel. This was an errour that might easily have happened in such a case. He was in as high rank as Colonel Hannay, for Colonel Hannay at that time was only a major; I do not believe either of them was properly entitled to the name of Colonel Saib. I am ashamed, my Lords, to be obliged to remark upon this prevarication. Their own endeavours to get rid of their own written acts, by contradictory evidence and false constructions, sufficiently clear these women of

the

the crimes of which they were accused; and I may now ask the Prisoner at your bar, how he dares to produce Captain Gordon here;—how he dares thus to insult the Peers—how he dares thus to insult the publick justice of his country; after not having dared to inquire upon the spot, of this man to whom he was referred by the Begums, for an account of this very transaction?

I hope your Lordships have got enough of this kind of evidence. All the rest is of the same batch, and of the same description; made up of nothing but hearsays, except in one particular only. This I shall now mention to your Lordships; Colonel Popham and another gentleman have told you, that in a battle with Cheit Sing's forces, they took prisoners two wounded nudjeeves or swordmen, and that these men told them, that they were sent there by the Begums: that they had got two rupees and two wounds, but that they thought two rupees a bad compensation for two wounds. These two men, with their two wounds and two rupees, had however been dismissed. It does not appear that this accident was considered by these officers to be of consequence enough to make them ever tell one word of it to Mr. Hastings, though they knew he was collecting evidence of the disaffection of the Begums, of all kinds, good, bad, and indifferent, from all sorts of persons.

My Lords, I must beg leave to say a few words upon this matter; because I consider it as one of the most outrageous violations of your Lordships' dignity, and the greatest insult that was ever offered to a court of justice. A nudjeeve is a soldier armed with a sword. It appears in evidence that the Nabob had several corps of nudjeeves in his service; that the Begums had some nudjeeves; and that Colonel Hannay had a corps of nudjeeves. It is well known that every prince in Hindostan has soldiers of that description, in like manner probably as the princes of Europe have their guards. The whole then amounts to this; that a story told by two men who were wounded in an action far from the place from which they were supposed to come; who were not regularly examined; not cross-examined; not even kept for examination, and whose evidence was never reported, is to be a reason why you are to believe that these Begums were concerned in a rebellion against their son, and deserved to forfeit all their lands and goods, and to suffer the indignities that we have stated.

My Lords, I am really ashamed to mention so scandalous a thing; but let us put a case, let us suppose, that we had accused Mr. Hastings of instigating the Rajah of Berar to fall upon some of the country powers; and that the

the evidence we produced at your bar to prove it, was that an officer had taken two nudjeeves, who declared they were instigated by Mr. Hastings to go into the service of that Rajah; Could you bear such a thing? would you suffer such evidence to be produced? or do you think that we should have so little regard for our own reputation, as to venture to produce such evidence before you? Again, we have charged Mr. Hastings with committing several acts of violence against the Begums. Let us suppose our proof to be, that two persons who never appeared before nor since; that two grenadiers in English uniforms, (which would be a great deal stronger than the case of the nudjeeves, because they have no particular uniform belonging to them;) that two English grenadiers, I say, had been taken prisoners in some action and let go again, who said that Mr. Hastings had instigated them to make war upon the Begums, would your Lordships suffer such evidence to be produced before you? No; and and yet two of the first women in India are to be stripped of all they have in the world upon no better evidence, than that which you would utterly reject.

You would not disgrace the British peerage; you would not disgrace this court of justice; you would not disgrace human reason itself, by

confiscating on such evidence the meanest property of the meanest wretch. You would not subject to the smallest fine for the smallest delinquency, upon such evidence. I will venture to say that in an action of assault and battery, or in an action for the smallest sum, such evidence would be scouted as odious and contemptible, even supposing that a perfect reliance might be placed upon its truth. And yet this is the sort of evidence upon which the property, the dignity, and the rank of some of the first persons in Asia, are to be destroyed; by which a British guarantee and the honour and dignity of the Crown of Great Britain, and of the Parliament itself, which sent out this man, are to be forfeited.

Observe, besides, my Lords, that the two swordsmen said they were sent by the Begums. Now they could not be sent by the Begums, in their own person. This was a thing in India impossible. They might indeed have been sent by Jewar and Behar Ali Khan: and then we ask again, how came these ministers not to be called to an account at the time? why were they not called upon for their muster rolls of these nudjeeves? No, these men and women suffer the penalty, but they never hear the accusation nor the evidence.

But to proceed with the evidence of this

pretended rebellion. Captain Williams has told your Lordships, that he once had a great number of letters and papers to prove this rebellion of the Begums. But he declares that he has lost all these letters. A search was ordered to be made in Mr. Hastings's record-office, called a trunk; and accordingly in the trunk is found a paper worthy of such a place and such a cause. This letter, which has been made use of to criminate the Begums, has not their names mentioned, nor is there any possibility of their being included in it. By this paper which is preserved, you may judge of the whole of the papers that are lost. Such a letter, I believe, was never before brought as evidence in a court of justice. It is a letter said to have been intercepted, and is as follows:

" To the most noble * * * * * whose pros-
" perity be everlasting. It is represented that
" the august Purwanah (command) having
" completed his honourable arrival on the 16th
" of the month in the evening, highly exalted
" me; it is ordered that I should charge Me-
" deporee and the other enrolled sepoys belong-
" ing to my district, and take bonds from them
" that none of them go for service to the Ra-
" jah; and that when 400 or 500 men, nuu-
" jeeves and others, are collected, I should

" send them to the presence, according to the " order I have written to Brejunekar Shah " Rehemet Ulla, who is in Bhooaparah, charging " him to take bonds from them, and that what- " ever sepoys fit for service are collected, he " should send to the presence. As at this time " the wind is contrary the sepoys will not " * * * * without travelling charges; for I " have learnt from a letter previously received " from Brejunekar Shah Rehemet Ullah, that " the people there also are badly inclined, by " the grace of God, the unalterable glory shall " be * * * * * Zehan Beg and the nudjeeves " who were in the fort of Aneelah have gone " off to Gooruckpore."

This is a letter of somebody or other, employed by somebody or other for the recruiting service; it should seem by the word " presence" somebody employed in enlisting forces for the Nabob. The charge against the Begum was, that she had joined with the rebellious Rajahs, to exterminate her son's government and the English influence in that country. In this very paper you see that the soldiers entering into that service, and officers who are to contract for soldiers, are expressly bound not to join the Rajahs', and this they produce as proof that the Begums had joined the Rajahs, and had joined them

them in a rebellion, for the purpose of exterminating their son, in the first instance, and the English afterwards.

There is another circumstance, which makes their own acts the refutation of their false pretences. This letter says that the country is disaffected, and it mentions the ill-disposed parts of the country. Now, we all know that the country was ill disposed; and we may therefore conclude this paper was written by, and addressed to, some person who was employed against the persons so ill disposed; namely, the very Rajahs so mentioned before. The Prisoner's counsel, after producing this paper, had the candour to declare that they did not see what use could be made of it. No, to be sure, they do not see what use can be made of it for their cause; but I see the use that can be made of it against their cause. I say that the lost papers, upon which they do so much insist, deserve no consideration, when the only paper that they have preserved operates directly against them; and that therefore we may safely infer, that, if we had the rest of the contents of this trunk, we should probably find them make as strongly against them, as this paper does. You have no reason to judge of them otherwise than by the specimen: for how

can

can you judge of what is lost but from what remains?

The man who hid these papers in his trunk never understood one word of the Persian language, and consequently was liable to every kind of mistake, even though he meant well. But who is this man? Why it is Captain Williams; the man who in his affidavits never mentioned the Begums without mentioning Saadit Ali. It is Captain Williams; whom we charge to have murdered a principal man of the country by his own hand, without law or legal process. It is Captain Williams; one of those British officers whom Mr. Hastings states to be the pests of the country. This is the man who comes here as evidence against these women, and produces this monstrous paper. All the evidence they had produced to you amounts to no more than that such a man *believes* such a man *heard of something:* and to close the whole of this hearsay account, Sir Elijah Impey, who always comes in as a supplement, declares that no man doubted of the existence of this rebellion and of the guilt of the Begums, any more than of the rebellion of 1745; a comparison which, I must say, is, by way of evidence, a little indecorous in a Chief Justice of India.

Your Lordships are sufficiently acquainted with

with the history of that rebellion to know, that when Lord Lovat was tried at this bar, the proceedings against him were not founded on second hand hearsay. The existence of the rebellion of 1745 was proved, notwithstanding its notoriety; but neither notoriety nor proof would have signified any thing, if Lord Lovat's participation in it had not been brought home to him directly, personally, and particularly. Yet a Chief Justice, sent to India to represent the sacred Majesty of the crown of England, has gone so far as to say at your bar, that no more doubt could be entertained of the existence either of the rebellion or the guilt of the Begums, than of the rebellion in 1745. Besides, he forgets that he himself carried the order to confiscate these people's property without any trial whatever. But this is the way of proceeding by an English Chief Justice in India—a Chief Justice who had rendered himself the instrument, the letter carrier, the messenger—I had almost said, the executioner of Mr. Hastings.

From this view of the whole matter, your Lordships will form an estimate of the spirit of Indian government and Indian justice. But to blow away and to put an end to all their false pretences, their hearsays, and talk of nudjeeves and wounds and the like, I ask who is the first witness that we have produced upon this occasion? It is the

the Nabob himself, negativing all these pretences. Did he believe them? Not a word from him of any rebellion actual or suspected. Sir Elijah Impey indeed said that he was obliged to wheel round and to avoid that dangerous place Fyzabad. His friends urged him to this.—For God's sake, say they, have a reverend care of your sacred person! What will become of the justice of India? What will become of the natives, if you their legitimate protector should fall into the hands of these wicked rebellious women at Fyzabad? But although the Chief Justice does this, the Nabob, whose deposition is said to be the first object of this rebellion, takes leave of Mr. Hastings at the very moment when it is raging in the highest possible degree, and gallops into its very focus.

And under what circumstances does he do this? He had brought some considerable forces with him. No man of his rank in that country ever goes without them. He left a part of these forces with Mr. Hastings, notwithstanding he was going into the centre of the rebellion. He then went on with a corps of about a thousand horse. He even left a part of these with Mr. Middleton, and galloped attended by a few horse into the very capital, where the Begums, we are told, had ten thousand armed men. He put himself into their power, and not satisfied

with

with this, the very first thing we hear of him after his arrival is, that he paid his mother a friendly visit. Thus rushing into the den of a lioness who was going to destroy her own whelp. Is it to be credited, my Lords, that a prince would act thus who believed that a conspiracy was formed against him by his own mother? Is it to be credited that any man would trust a mother who, contrary to all the rules of nature and policy, had conspired to destroy her own son?

Upon this matter your Lordships have the evidence of Captain Edwards, who was aide-de-camp to the Nabob, who was about his person, his attendant at Chunar, and his attendant back again. I am not producing this to exculpate the Begums;—for I say you cannot try them here, you have not the parties before you, they ought to have been tried on the spot;—but I am going to demonstrate the iniquity of this abominable plot beyond all doubt, for it is necessary your Lordships should know the length, breadth and depth of this mystery of iniquity.

Captain Edwards being asked—"Whether he ever heard any native of credit and authority in the Nabob's dominions, who appeared to believe the rebellion of the Begums?—*A.* No, I never did. *Q.* Have you any reason to believe that the Nabob gave credit to it?—*A.* I really cannot rightly

rightly presume to say whether the Nabob did or did not; but I am apt to believe that he did not. *Q.* Have you any reason and what to form a belief about it?—*A.* I have. I think if he supposed the rebellion ever existed at Fyzabad, he would have been the first person to take and give the alarm to the British troops. *Q.* And no such alarm was taken or given to the British troops?—*A.* No, I think not; as I was always about his person, and in the camp, I think I certainly must have known it or heard of it; but I never did."

We assure your Lordships you will find upon your printed Minutes, that Captain Edwards says he was credibly informed, that the Nabob left behind him a part of his guard of horse; and that so desirous was he to go into the power of this cruel lioness, his mother, that he advanced, as he is a vigorous man, and a bold and spirited rider, leaving all his guards behind him, and rode before them into the middle of Fyzabad.—There is some more evidence to the same purpose in answer to the question put next to that which I read before.

Q. "When you did hear of the rebellion, did not you understand it to have been alleged, that one object of it was to dethrone the Nabob himself as well as to extirpate the English?—*A.* I understood that the intention of the princesses,

cesses, the Begums, was to extirpate the English troops out of the country, and out of those dominions, and likewise to depose her son, and set another son, who seems to have been a greater favourite of that family, upon the throne, in the room of the present Nabob, and that son's name is Saadit Ali. I have only heard this from report. I have no other knowledge but mere report. I understood from the report, she was to extirpate the English and depose her son, who is now upon the throne. *Q.* Was it after or before the seizing of the treasures, that you heard a circumstantial account of the supposed object of the rebellion?—*A.* The report was more general after the seizing of the treasures; but yet there were reports prevailing in the neighbourhood, that our troops were sent there in consequence of the charge that was made by Colonel Hannay and some of his officers, of a rebellion existing then at Fyzabad, or having existed, I cannot rightly say which. *Q.* Was that report after the order for the troops to march to Fyzabad? — *A.* It was more general, it was very general then when the troops did march there, and more general after the seizing of the treasures. *Q.* When did the troops first march?—*A.* it was some time in the month of January, I believe in the year 1782. *Q.* While you was with the Nabob, in passing from Lucknow to Chunar, and

and while you was with him, or the army returning from Chunar, did you then, out of the whole army regular or irregular, ever hear of any report of the Begums being in rebellion?—*A.* No, I do not recollect I ever did. *Q.* Upon cross examination—do you recollect at what time in August 1781 you left Lucknow to proceed with the Nabob to Chunar?—*A.* No I cannot rightly mention the date; all that I know is this, that I accompanied the Nabob, Mr. Middleton, and his attendants, all the way from Lucknow to Chunargur, I really cannot recollect, I have no notes, and it is so distant a time since, that I do not recollect the particulars of the month or the day; but I recollect perfectly I accompanied the Nabob all the way from Lucknow to Chunar, and returned again with him until he struck off on the road for Fyzabad."

Your Lordships see plainly the whole of this matter; when they had resolved to seize the Begums' treasures, they propagated this report just in proportion to their acts. As they proceeded, the report grew hotter and hotter. This man tells you when it was that the propagation of this report first began; when it grew hot, and when it was in its greatest heat. He tells you, that not one native of credit in the country believed it; that he did not think the Nabob himself

himself believed it; and he gives a reason that speaks for itself, namely, that he, the Nabob, would have been the first man to give the alarm if he believed in a rebellion, as he was to be the object of it.

He says the English were the principal spreaders of the report. It was, in fact, a wicked report, propagated by Mr. Middleton and the English agents, for the purpose of justifying their iniquitous spoliation of the Begums.

This is the manner in which the matter stands upon the ground of rebellion, with the exception of Major Gilpin's and Hyder Beg Khan's testimony. This last man we have proved to have been kept in his office by Mr. Hastings's influence, and to have been entirely under his government. When this dependant comes to give his attestation, he gives a long account of all the proceedings of Cheit Sing's rebellion, with which the rebellion charged on the Begums was supposed to be coincident; and he ends it very remarkably—that he tells the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. But it is also remarkable, that even this Hyder Beg Khan never mentions by name the rebellion of the Begums, nor says that he ever heard a word about it: a strong proof that he did not dare in the face of his country, to give countenance to such a falsehood.

Major Gilpin's evidence leaves not even the shadow of a pretence for this charge. He had the Begums and their eunuchs under his custody for a full year; he was strictly ordered to watch them and to guard them, and during all that time he lived at Fyzabad. He was the man who commanded the troops; who had all the witnesses in his power; who had daily access to all parties at Fyzabad; and who moreover was a person attached to Mr. Hastings in the strongest manner.

Your Lordships will now be pleased to hear read to you this part of Major Gilpin's evidence: —" Had you any opportunity of knowing the character of the Begums, and whether they were disaffected to our government?—*A.* I had a very good opportunity of knowing, from the circumstance of my having commanded so long there; the elder Begum, it was generally understood, (and I have reason to believe,) was disaffected to our government; and my sentiments of her conduct stand recorded in my correspondence to the court of Lucknow to that effect; but with respect to the Bow Begum, I acquit her entirely of any disaffection to our government, so far as comes to my knowledge; appearances were for some time against her, but on cool deliberate inquiry, I found there was no ground for supposing her guilty of any rebellious principles,

ciples, at the time of Cheit Sing's rebellion. *Q.* Whether that, according to your belief, is not your present opinion?—*A.* I think I have answered that very fully, that it was upon those very principles that I did form an opinion of her innocence; how far they are justifiable or right, I will not take upon me to say upon oath; there was no one circumstance that came to my knowledge, during my residence at Fyzabad or my residence in India, that I would wish to withhold from your Lordships. *Q.* You state here, upon cool deliberate inquiry; what was that cool deliberate inquiry?—*A.* That cool deliberate inquiry was the conversations I had with the ministers and the people of Fyzabad, and the letters from herself expressing her innocence; and it appeared to me from those letters, that she really was our friend and ally."

The same witness goes on afterwards to say: —"*Q.* I understood you to say, that originally the report prevailed with respect to both the Begums, but that you was induced to alter that opinion with respect to the younger Begum, in consequence of Mr. Gordon's letters and the intelligence of some of her ministers and other persons; were not those other persons in the interest of the younger Begum?—*A.* In general the town of Fyzabad were in her interest. *Q.* In what sense do you mean generally in her interest;

were the persons you conversed with merely those who were in her service and household, or the inhabitants of Fyzabad in general?—*A.* Both; I held conversations with both her own body servants and the inhabitants of the city. [*A little lower down, in the same page.*] What do you mean by the word rebellion as applied to the Begums; in what sense do you use it?—*A.* In raising troops and in other acts of rebellion, in the common acceptation of the word. *Q.* Against whom?—*A.* Against the Nabob's government and the British government jointly; but I beg to know the particular time and circumstance the question alludes to. *Q.* I understand you to have said, you understood the elder Begum was in a constant state of rebellion; in what sense do you use the word rebellion; did you say the elder Begum was in a constant state of rebellion?—*A.* I always understood her to be disaffected to the English government; it might not be a proper expression of mine, the word rebellion. *Q.* Do you know of any act by the elder Begum against the Vizier?—*A.* I cannot state any. *Q.* Do you know of any act which you call rebellion, committed by the elder Begum against the Company?—*A.* I do not know of any particular circumstance, only it was generally supposed that she was disaffected to the Company. *Q.* What acts of disaffection

or

or hostility towards the English do you allude to, when you speak of the conversation of the world at the time?—*A.* I have answered that question as fully as I can, that it was nothing but conversation, that I knew of no particular act or deed myself.

This man, then declares, as your Lordships have heard, that upon cool, deliberate inquiry made at Fyzabad from all the inhabitants, he did not believe in the existence of any rebellion. That as to the Bow Begum, the grandmother, who was a person that could only be charged with it in a secondary degree, and as conspiring with the other, he says, he knows no facts against her; except that at the battle of Buxar, in the year 1764, she had used some odd expressions concerning the English, who were then at war with her son Sujah Dowlah. This was long before we had any empire or pretence to empire in that part of India; therefore the expression of a rebellion, which he had used with regard to her, was he acknowledged improper; and that he only meant he had formed some opinion of her disaffection to the English.

As to the Begum, he positively acquits her of any rebellion. If he therefore did not know it, who was an active officer in the very centre of the alleged rebellion, and who was in possession

of all the persons from whom information was to be got, who had the eunuchs in prison, and might have charged them with this rebellion, and might have examined and cross-examined them at his pleasure; if this man new nothing about it, your Lordships will judge of the falsehood of this wicked rumour, spread about from hand to hand, and which was circulated by persons who at the same time have declared that they never heard of it before Sir Elijah Impey went up into the country, the messenger of Mr. Hastings's orders, to seize the treasures of the Begum's, and commissioned to procure evidence, in justification of that violence and robbery.

I now go to another part of this evidence. There is a person they call Hoolas Roi. A man in the employment of the Resident, Mr. Middleton. The gentlemen who are counsel for the Prisoner have exclaimed,—O! he was nothing but a news writer. What! do you take any notice of him? Your Lordships would imagine that the man whom they treat in this manner, and whose negative evidence they think fit to despise, was no better than the writers of those scandalous paragraphs which are published in our daily papers, to misrepresent the proceedings of this Court to the publick. But who in fact is this Hoolas Roi whom they represent, for the convenience of the day, to be nothing but a news writer?

writer? I will read to your Lordship's a letter from Major Naylor to Colonel Jaques, commanding the second batallion 20th regiment.

" Sir,—Hoolas Roi, the person appointed by " the Nabob for transacting the business for " which the troops are required here, will hold " constant communication and intercourse with " you; and as he is instructed and acquainted " with the best method to accomplish this bu- " siness, Mr. Middleton requests implicit atten- " tion to be paid to what he may from time to " time represent respecting the prisoners or " the business on which he is employed; in " short, as he is the person nominated by the " Nabob, he wishes Hoolas Roi to be consi- " dered in the same light as if he himself was " present."

Mr. Middleton, in a letter to Lieutenant Francis Rutledge, writes thus of him: " Sir,— " When this note is delivered to you by Hoolas " Roi, I have to desire that you order the two " prisoners to be put in irons, keeping them " from all food, &c. agreeably to my instructions " of yesterday."

You will first see in how confidential a manner Hoolas Roi was employed, and in what light he

was held. That he was employed to carry some instructions which do not indeed appear, but were accompanied by an order from Mr. Middleton. "When these instructions shall come "to you, to put these prisoners in irons and "keep them without food," &c. The Begums, say, without food and water. Et cetera are words of large import—but he was "to keep "them without food, &c. agreeable to my in-"structions of yesterday." This was a pretty general warrant for sufferings. This Hoolas Roi, this mere news writer, was not only intrusted with this warrant, but Mr. Middleton declares him to be a person who was to be received there, and to represent the Nabob, and very justly too; for he, Mr. Middleton, was undoubtedly the real Nabob of the country. The man therefore, whom they talk of in this contemptuous manner in order to make slight of an observation we made, and which I shall make again, and whom they affect to consider as a mere paragraph-monger in some scandalous newspaper, was a man vested by Mr. Middleton with authority equal to that of the Nabob himself.

Mr. Hastings not only thought him of consequence enough to be a witness to the severities used on the ministers of the Begums, but he considered that he would afterwards be a fit witness to the rebellion. I pray your Lordships

to

to mark this—he sent for this Hoolas Roi, (who is now nothing but a mere paragraph-monger) —he sent for him from Fyzabad to Benares—a pretty long journey; and at last caused him to be examined before Sir Elijah Impey. He has, however, sunk his evidence. A suppression which is strongly in favour of the Begums; and equally strong against their accuser. Here we have a man, who was intrusted with all their orders; who represented the English government; who represented the Nabob's government; this man is sent for by Mr. Hastings: he gives his depositions before Sir Elijah Impey; and the deposition so given is not to be found either upon the Company's record, in Sir Elijah Impey's trunk, in Jonathan Scott's trunk, nor in any other place whatever. The evidence of a witness, who could speak most clearly, as probably he did, and most decisively upon this subject, is sunk. They suppress, and dare not produce, the affidavit of the man who was at the bottom of every secret of both governments. They had the folly to let you know, obliquely, that he had been sent for by Mr. Hastings, but they conceal the information obtained from him; a silence more damning than any positive evidence could be. You have here a proof of their practice of producing such evidence only as they thought most

most favourable to their wicked purposes, in the destruction of this great and ancient family.

But all the English, they say, believed in the existence of this rebellion. This we deny. Mr. Purling, who was Resident the year before its pretended explosion, has told you, that he never knew of any thing like a plot carrying on by these women. We were almost ashamed to put the question to him. Did Mr. Bristow, the next Resident, know or believe in this plot? He seems, indeed, to have been induced to give some oblique hints to Mr. Hastings of improper conduct on the part of the Begums, but without stating what it was. In a letter to Mr. Hastings, he appears to endeavour to soften the cruel temper of this inflexible man, by going a little way with him, by admitting that he thought they had behaved improperly. When Mr. Wombwell, another Resident, is asked, whether any Englishman doubted of it; he says, Mr Bristow doubted of it. No one indeed, who reads these papers, can avoid seeing that Mr. Bristow did not believe one word of it; no more in fact than did Mr. Hastings or any body else.

But, my Lords, let us go from these inferior agents and servants of the Company to their higher officers. Did Mr. Stables believe it? This gentleman was Mr. Hastings's colleague in

in the Council, a man of as much honour, I really believe, as ever went to India; a faithful old servant of the Company and very worthy of credit. I believe there is not a spot upon him during all his long service under the Company —if any, it is his being a little too obsequious, sometimes, to Mr. Hastings. Did he believe it? No. He did not; and yet he was one of the persons authorized to investigate it coolly, and most able to do so. Upon the whole then the persons who best knew the state of the country did not believe it; the Nabob did not believe it; the Begums were never charged with it; no ground of suspicion is suggested except loose rumours and the story of two nudjeeves. Under these circumstances the treasures of these ancient ladies were seized, their property confiscated, and the Nabob dragged most reluctantly to this act. Yes, my Lords, this poor miserable victim was forced to violate all the laws of nature, all decency, all property; to rob his own mother for the benefit of Mr. Hastings. All this he was forced to do, he was made the reluctant instrument of punishing his mother and grandmother for a plot, of which even their accusers do not pretend to say that the parties accused had ever received any intimation.

My Lords, in forming your judgment upon this nefarious proceeding, your Lordships will not

not fail to advert to the fundamental principles the acknowledged maxims and established rules of all judgment and justice,—that conviction ought to precede execution; that trial ought to precede conviction; and that a prosecutor's information and evidence ought to be the preliminary step and substance of the trial. Here every thing was reversed: Sir Elijah Impey goes up with the order for execution; the party accused is neither arraigned nor tried. This same Sir Elijah then proceeds to seek for witnesses, and to take affidavits, and in the mean time neither the Nabob, the ostensible prosecutor, nor his mother and grand-mother, the parties accused, knew one word of the matter.

But possibly some peculiarity in the circumstances of the case rendered such a proceeding necessary, and may justify it. No such peculiarity has been proved or even alleged; nay it is in the highest degree improbable that it could have existed. Mr. Hastings had another opportunity of doing himself justice, when an account of this business was transmitted to the Court of Directors, they ordered him to inquire into it: and your Lordships will see what he did in consequence of this order. Your Lordships will then judge of the extreme audacity of the defence which he has made of this act at your bar, after having refused to institute any inquiry

inquiry into it, although he had the positive order of the Court of Directors, and was in the place where that inquiry could be made effectually, and in the place where the unfortunate women could have an opportunity of clearing themselves.

I will first read to your Lordships an extract from the letter of the Court of Directors to the Board at Calcutta; dated the 14th of February 1783.

4—" By the second article of the treaty [of " Chunar] the Nabob is permitted to resume " such jaghires as he shall think proper, with " a reserve, that all such jaghirdars, for the " amount of whose jaghires the Company are " guarantees, shall, in case of a resumption of " their lands, be paid the amount of the net " collections through the Resident.

5.—" We do not see how the Governour " General could consent to the resumption of " such lands, as the Company had engaged " should remain in the hands of those who " possessed them previous to the execution of " the late treaty, without stronger proofs of the " Begum's defection than have been laid before " us; neither can we allow it to be good policy " to reduce the several jaghirdars, and thus " uniting the territory, and the troops main-

" tained

" tained for the protection of that territory, " under one head, who, by that means, at some " future period, may become a very powerful " enemy to the Company.

6.—" With respect to the resumption of the " jaghires possessed by the Begums in par- " ticular, and the subsequent seizure of the " treasure deposited with the Vizier's mother, " which the Governour General, in his letter to " the Board, 23d January 1782, has declared he " strenuously encouraged and supported, we " hope and trust, for the honour of the British " nation, that the measure appeared to be fully " justified in the eyes of all Hindoostan.

" The Governour General has informed us, " that it can be well attested, that the Begums " principally excited and supported the late " commotions, and that they carried their in- " veteracy to the English nation so far as to " aim at our utter extirpation.

7.—" It must have been publickly known that " in 1775, the Resident at the Vizier's court " not only obtained from the Begum, widow of " the late Sujah Dowlah, on the Nabob's ac- " count, thirty lacks of rupees, half of which " was to be paid to the Company, but also " the forbearance of twenty-six lacks, for the " repayment of which she had security in " land, on the Nabob's agreeing to renounce all

" further

" further claim upon her, and that to this agree-
" ment the Company were guarantees.

8.—" We find that on the 21st December
" 1775, the Begum complained of a breach of
" engagements on the part of the Nabob, soli-
" citing your protection for herself, her mother,
" and for all the women belonging to the
" seraglio of the late Nabob, from the distresses
" to which they were reduced—in consequence
" whereof it was agreed in consultation, 3d
" January 1776, to remonstrate with the Vizier;
" the Governour General remarking—that as
" the representative of our government has
" become an agent in this business, and has
" pledged the honour and faith of the Company
" for the punctual observance of the conditions
" under which the treaty was concluded—you
" had a right to interfere, and justice demanded
" it, if it should appear that those engagements
" have been violated.

" And the Board at the same time resolved,—
" That as soon as the Begum's engagements
" with the Nabob, to which Mr. Bristow is a
" party, shall be fulfilled on her part, this
" government will think themselves bound to
" protect her against any further demand or
" molestation.

9.—" If therefore the disaffection of the
" Begums was not a matter of publick notoriety,

" we

" we cannot but be alarmed for the effects " which these subsequent transactions must " have had on the minds of the natives of " India,—the only consolation we feel upon this " occasion is, that the amount of those jaghires " for which the Company were guarantees, is " to be paid through our Resident at the court " of the Vizier; and it very materially con- " cerns the credit of your government on no " account to suffer such payments to be evaded.

10.—" If it shall hereafter be found that the " Begums did not take that hostile part against " the Company, which has been represented (as " well in the Governour General's narrative, as " in several documents therein referred to; and " as it no where appears, from the papers at " present in our possession, that they excited " any commotion previous to the imprisonment " of Rajah Cheit Sing), but only armed them- " selves in consequence of that transaction; " and as it is probable that such a conduct " proceeded entirely from motives of self de- " fence under an apprehension that they them- " selves might likewise be laid under unwar- " rantable contributions, we direct that you use " your influence with the Vizier, that their " jaghires may be restored to them; but if they " should be under apprehensions respecting the " future conduct of the Vizier, and with our

" further

" further protection, it is our pleasure that " you afford those ladies an asylum within the " Company's territories, and these be paid the " amount of the net collections of their jaghires " agreeably to the second article of the late " treaty, through the medium of our Resident, " as may be ascertained upon an average esti- " mate of some years back."

You see, my Lords, the Directors had received every one of his false impressions. They had conceived an idea, that after the rebellion of Cheit Sing (but not before upon his own shewing) the Begums had shewn a disposition to arm. They here assume a false fact, which Mr. Hastings stated in his representation of the business to them. They assume a variety of other false facts,—they assume, that the amount of the jaghires of the Begums were to be paid them in regular pensions, whereas they were totally confiscated without any compensation at all. And yet upon Mr. Hastings's own shewing, they found the transaction to be so dishonourable to the British government, that they desire him to make inquiry into it, and give redress accordingly.

Here then is another order of the Company another call upon Mr. Hastings to examine to the bottom of this affair. The Directors, after

giving him credit for that enormous mass of falsehoods which we have proved him to have stated in his narrative, found themselves so utterly dissatisfied, that they gave this conditional order to restore the Begums to their jaghires. Your Lordships will find it in evidence upon your Minutes, that he contumaciously disobeyed this order; that he would not consent to the propositions of the Council for inquiring into the conduct of these injured women; but stifled every attempt that was made by others to do them justice. And yet he here has the effrontery to propose that your Lordships should inquire into the business at your bar; that you should investigate a matter here, which he refused to inquire into on the spot, though expressly ordered by his masters so to do.

I will now read to your Lordships a short extract from his own narrative of his own proceedings. It begins with reciting part of a note entered by Mr. Macpherson in the Consultations of the Council, at the time when the orders of the Court of Directors, which I have just alluded to, were taken into consideration:—"What the "Court of Directors seem to have most at heart "are, first, That the engagement of the second "article of the Benares Treaty should be faith-"fully fulfilled; and secondly, to guard against

the

" the future misconduct of the Vizier, if he " should be disposed to oppress the Begums:

" That we should therefore ascertain whether " the amount of the jaghires of the Begums is " regularly paid to them through the Company's " Resident; and give them notice, that no " future demands shall be made upon them. " This the Governour General might, I think, " do in a letter, that would make the Begums " sensible of their past misconduct, yet inform " them of the lenity and gracious intentions of " the Company, in ordering them an asylum in " Bengal, in case of future distress." In consequence of the foregoing opinion from Mr. Macpherson, the following Minute was delivered by the Governour General:

" I should gladly acquiesce in the motion made " by Mr. Macpherson, if I thought it possible " to frame a letter to the Begums, in any terms " which should at the same time convey the " intimation proposed by it, and not defeat the " purpose of it, or be productive of evils greater " than any which exist in consequence of the " proceedings which have already taken place, " and which time has almost obliterated; the " orders of the Court of Directors are con- " ditional, they require nothing; but in the " event of discoveries made subsequent to the

" advices which were before you on the 14th " February last, in alleviation of the former " conduct of the Begums, nothing has since " appeared in relation to them but their refusal, " or rather that of one to fulfil her engagements " for the payment of the remainder of the sum " exacted from her by the Nabob Vizier, in the " beginning of last year. Whatever obedience " may be due to the clear and ascertained spirit " of the orders of the Court of Directors, this " obligation cannot extend to points of which " neither the letter nor evident spirit of their " orders apply. If I am rightly informed, the " Nabob Vizier and the Begums are on terms " of mutual good will; it would ill become this " government to interpose its influence by any " act which might tend to revive their animo- " sities, and a very slight occasion would be " sufficient to effect it; it will be to little pur- " pose to tell them that their conduct has, in " our estimation of it, been very wrong; and " at the same time to announce to them the " orders of our superiors, which more than indicate the reverse; they will instantly take ' fire on such a declaration, proclaim the judg- " ment of the Company in their favour, demand " a reparation of the acts, which they will " construe wrongs; with such a sentence war- " ranting that construction, and either accept

" the

" the invitation to the proclaimed scandal of " the Vizier, which will not add to the credit of " our government, or remain in his dominions, " but not under his authority, to add to his " vexations and the disorders of the country, by " continued intrigues and seditions; enough " already exists to affect his peace, and the " quiet of his people; if we cannot heal, let " us not inflame the wounds which have been " inflicted:

" If the Begums think themselves aggrieved " to such a degree as to justify them in an appeal " to foreign jurisdiction; to appeal to it against " a man standing in the relation of son and " grandson to them; to appeal to the justice of " those who have been the abettors and instru- " ments of their imputed wrongs; let us at " least permit them to be the judges of their " own feelings, and prefer their complaints, " before we offer to redress them; they will " not need to be prompted:

" I hope I shall not depart from the sim- " plicity of official language, in saying, that the " majesty of justice ought to be approached " with solicitation, not descend to provoke or " invite it, much less to debase itself by the " suggestion of wrongs and the promise of re- " dress, with the denunciation of punishment " before trial, and even before accusation."

My Lords, if, since the beginning of the world, such a paper as this was ever before written, by a person standing in the relation of a servant to his master, I shall allow that every word we have said to your Lordships upon this occasion to mark his guilt ought to be expunged from your Minutes, and from our Charges.

Before I proceed to make any observations upon this act of open rebellion against his superiors, I must beg your Lordships to remark the cruelty of purpose, the hostile feeling towards these injured women, which were displayed in this daring defiance. Your Lordships will find, that he never is a rebel to one party, without being a tyrant to some others; that rebel and tyrant are correlative terms when applied to him, and that they constantly go together.

It is suggested by the Directors, that the Nabob is the persecutor, the oppressor, and that Mr. Hastings is the person who is to redress the wrong; but here they have mistaken the matter totally. For we have proved to your Lordships, that Mr. Hastings was the principal in the persecution, and that the Nabob was only an instrument:—"If I am rightly informed," he says, "the Nabob and the Begums are "on terms of mutual good will. It would ill "become this government to interpose its "influence

" influence by any act which might tend to " revive their animosities, and a very slight " occasion would be sufficient to effect it."— What animosities had they towards each other? None, that we know of. Mr. Hastings gets the Nabob to rob his mother; and then he supposes, contrary to truth, contrary to fact, contrary to every thing your Lordships have heard, that the Nabob would fall into a fury if his mother was to obtain any redress; and that if the least inquiry into this business was made, it would create a flame in the Nabob's mind, on account of the active, energetick, spirited part he had taken in these transactions. Therefore, says he, Oh! for God's sake, sooth the matter:—it is a green wound:—don't uncover it:—do nothing to irritate:—it will be to little purpose to tell them that their conduct has in our estimation of it been very wrong, and at the same time announce to them the orders of our superiors, which more than indicate the reverse. Now, my Lords, to what does all this amount? First, says he, I will not do them justice.—I will not enter upon an inquiry into their wrongs. Why?—Because they charge us with having inflicted them. Then surely for that reason, you ought to commence an inquiry. No, says he, that would be telling them that our superiors suspect we are in the wrong. But

when his superiors more than indicated suspicions, was he not bound ten fold to make that inquiry, for his honour and for their satisfaction, which they direct him to make? No, he will not do it, because, says he, the Begums would either accept the offer of an asylum in the Company's territories to the proclaimed scandal of the Vizier, which would not add to the credit of our government; or they would remain in his dominions, but not under his authority, to add to his vexations, and the disorders of the country, by continual intrigues and seditions.

You see, my Lords, this man is constantly thrusting this peaceable Nabob before him, goading and pushing him on as if with a bayonet behind, to the commission of every thing that is base and dishonourable. You have him here declaring that he will not satisfy the Directors his masters, in their inquiries about those acts, for fear of the Nabob's taking umbrage, and getting into a flame with his mother; and for fear the mother, supported by the opinion of the Directors, should be induced to resent her wrongs.—What, I say, does all this amount to? —It amounts to this—The Begums accuse me of doing them injustice; the Directors indicate a suspicion that they have been injured; therefore I will not inquire into the matter. Why?—

because

because it may raise disturbances. But what disturbance could it raise?—the mother is disarmed and could not hurt the Nabob. All her landed estates he knew were confiscated. He knew all her money was in his own possession; he knew she had not the means, if she had been disposed, to create intrigues and cabals;—what disturbance then could be created by his sending a letter to know what she had to say upon the subject of her wrongs?

"*If*," says he, "the Begums *think themselves aggrieved*." Observe, my Lords, that the institution of an inquiry is no measure of the Begums; it is an order of the Court of Directors made by them upon his own representation of his own case, and upon nothing else. The Begums did not dare to murmur.—They did not dare to ask for redress. God knows the poor creatures were at or about the time his prisoners; robbed—stripped of every thing; without hope and without resource.—But the Directors, doing their duty upon that occasion, did condemn him upon his own false representations contained in that bundle of affidavits, upon which his counsel now contend that your Lordships should acquit him. But, says he, are they to *appeal to a foreign jurisdiction?* When these women were to be robbed we were not foreigners to them; on the contrary we adjudged them guilty of rebellion. We sent an

English

English Chief Justice to collect materials of accusation against them. We sent English officers to take their money. The whole was an English transaction. When wrong is to be done, we have then an interest in the country to justify our acting in it; but when the question is of redressing wrongs, when the question is of doing justice, when the question is of inquiry, when the question is of hearing complaints, then it is a foreign jurisdiction.—You are to suffer Mr. Hastings to make it foreign, or to make it domestic, just as it answers his purposes.—But *they are to appeal against a man standing in the relation of son and grandson to them, and to appeal to the justice of those who have been the abettors and instruments of their imputed wrongs.*—

Why, my Lords, if he allows that he is the abettor of, and the instrument to which the Directors impute these wrongs, why, I ask, does he, with those charges lying upon him, object to all inquiry in the manner you have seen?

But the Company's Governour is, it seems, all at once transformed into a great sovereign—the majesty of justice ought to be approached with solicitation. Here, my Lords, he forgets at once the Court of Directors; he forgets the laws of England, he forgets the act of Parliament, he forgets that any obedience is due to his superiors. The Begums were to approach him

him by the orders of the Court of Directors, he sets at nought these orders, and asserts that he must be approached with solicitations. "*Time*" says he, "*has obliterated their sufferings.*" O! what a balm of oblivion time spreads over the wrongs, wounds, and afflictions of others, in the mind of the person who inflicts those wrongs and oppressions. The oppressor soon forgets. This robbery took place in 17...; it was in the year 1783, when he asserted that the waters of Lethe had been poured over all their wrongs and oppressions.

Your Lordships will mark this insulting language, when he says that both the order of the Directors and the application of the Begums for redress must be *solicitations to him.*

[Here Mr. Burke was interrupted by *Mr. Hastings*, who said, "My Lords, there was no "order. I find a man's patience may be ex- "hausted. I hear so many falsehoods, that I "must declare there was no order of the Court "of Directors: Forgive me my Lords. He "may say what he pleases; I will not again "controvert it. But there is no order; if there "is, read it."]

Mr. Burke then proceeded. Judge you, my Lords, what the insolence, audacity, and cruelty of

of this man must have been, from his want of patience in his present situation, and when he dares to hold this language here. Your Lordships will reckon with him for it, or the world will reckon with you.

Mr. Hastings here again interrupted Mr. Burke, and said, "There was no order for in-"quiry."

Mr. Burke.—Your Lordships have heard the letter read; I mean the letter from the Directors, which I read just now. You will judge whether it is an order or not. I did hope within these two days, to put an end to this business, but when your Lordships hear us charged with direct falsehood at your bar; when you hear this wicked wretch who is before you—

From a Lord.—Order, order, order.

Mr. Burke.—Order, my Lords, we call for in the name of the Commons. Your Lordships have heard us accused, at your bar, of falsehood, after we had read the order upon which our assertion was founded. This man, whom we have described as the scourge and terrour of India; this man gets up, and charges us, not with a mistake, an errour, a wrong construction, but a direct falsehood; and adds, that his patience is worn out with the falsehood he hears. This is not an English court of justice if such a thing is permitted. We beg leave to retire,

retire, and take instructions from our constituents. He ought to be sent to Bridewell for going on in this manner.

[*Mr. Wyndham here read the letter again.*]

Mr. Burke.—With regard to the ravings of this unhappy man, I am sure, if I were only considering what passed from him to the managers in this box, and knowing what allowance is due to a wounded conscience, brought before an awful tribunal, and smarting under the impressions of its own guilt, I would pass them over. But, my Lords, we have the honour of the Commons; we have the honour of this court to sustain. [Your Lordships, the other day, for an offence committed against a constable, who was keeping the way under your orders, did very justly, and to the great satisfaction of the publick, commit the party to Bridewell, for a much slighter insult against the honour and dignity of your Court.] And I leave it therefore for the present, till your Lordships can seriously consider what the mode of proceeding in this matter ought to be.—I now proceed.—

We have read to your Lordships the orders of the Court of Directors; I again say we consider them as orders; your Lordships are as good judges of the propriety of the term as we are.

are. You have heard them read, you have also heard that the Council at Calcutta considered them as orders, for resolutions were moved upon them; and Mr. Stables, in evidence before you here, who was one of the Council, so considered them; and yet this man has the frantick audacity in this place, to assert that they were not orders; and to declare, that he cannot stand the repetition of such abominable falsehoods as are perpetually urged against him. We cannot conceive that your Lordships will suffer this, and if you do, I promise you, the Commons will not suffer the justice of the country to be trifled with and insulted in this manner; because, if such conduct be suffered by your Lordships, they must say that very disagreeable consequences will ensue, and very disagreeable inferences will be drawn by the publick concerning it. You will forgive, and we know how to forgive, the ravings of people smarting under a conscious sense of their guilt. But when we are reading documents given in evidence, and are commenting upon them, the use of this kind of language really deserves your Lordships' consideration. As for us, we regard it no more than we should other noise and brawlings of criminals, who in irons may be led through the streets, raving at the magistrate that has committed them. We consider him as a poor

miserable

miserable man, railing at his accusers; it is natural he should fall into all these frantick ravings, but it is not fit or natural that the Court should indulge him in them. Your Lordships shall now hear in what sense Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Stables, two other members of the Council, understood this letter.

Mr. Wheeler thus writes:—"It always has "been, and will be my wish to perform im- "plicitly the orders of the Court of Directors, "and I trust that the opinion which I shall "give upon that part of the Court's letter, "which is now before us, will not be taken up "against its meaning, as going to a breach of "them; the orders at present under the Board's "consideration are entirely provisional.

"Nothing has passed since the conclusion "of the agreement made by the Governour "General with the Vizier at Chunar, which "induces me to allow the opinion which I "before held, as well as from the Governour "General's reports to this Board, as the opi- "nions which I have heard of many individuals "totally unconcerned in the subject, that the "Begums at Fyzabad, did take a hostile part "against the Company during the disturbances "at Benares; and I am impressed with a con- "viction that this conduct of the Begums did

"not

" not proceed entirely from motives of self " defence; but as the Court of Directors seem " to be of a different opinion, and conceive that " there ought to be stronger proofs of the defec- " tion of the Begums than have been laid before " them; I think, that before we decide on their " orders, the late and present Resident at the " Vizier's court, and the commanding officers in " the Vizier's country, ought to be required to " collect and lay before the Board all the in- " formation they can obtain, with respect to the " defection of the Begums during the troubles " in Benares, and their present disposition to " the Company."

Mr. Stables, September 9th, 1783, writes thus: " The Court of Directors, by their " letter of the 14th February 1783, seem not " to be satisfied with the disaffection of the " Begums to this government, is sufficiently " proved by the evidence before them. I there- " fore think that the late and present Resident " and commanding officers in the Vizier's " country at the time should be called upon " to collect what further information they can " on the subject, in which the honour and " dignity of the government is so materially " concerned, and that such information may be " immediately transmitted to the Court of " Directors."

When

When questioned upon this subject at your Lordships' bar, he gives this evidence: —*Q.* What was your motive for proposing that investigation?—*A.* A letter from the Court of Directors; I conceived it to be ordered by them. *Q.* Did you conceive the letter of the Court of Directors positively to direct that inquiry?—*A.* I did so certainly at the time, and I beg to refer to the minutes which expressed it. [A question was put to the same witness by a noble Lord:] *Q.* The witness has stated, that at the time he has mentioned, he conceived the letter from the Court of Directors to order an inquiry, and that it was upon that opinion that he regulated his conduct, and his proposal for such inquiry; I wish to know whether the expression at the time was merely casual, or am I to understand from it that the witness has altered his opinion of the intention of this letter since that time?—*A.* I certainly retain that opinion, and I wished the inquiry to go on.

My Lords, you see that his colleagues so understood it. You see that we so understood it, and still you have heard the Prisoner, after charging us with falsehood, insultingly tell us, we may go on as we please, we may go on in our own way. If your Lordships think that it was not a positive order which Mr. Hastings was bound to obey, you will acquit him of the breach

of it. But it is a most singular thing, among all the astonishing circumstances of this case, that this man, who has heard, from the beginning to the end of his trial, breaches of the Company's orders constantly charged upon him,—nay, I will venture to say, that there is not a single step that we have taken in this prosecution, or in observations upon evidence, in which we have not charged him with an avowed direct breach of the Company's order—you have heard it ten times this day,—in his defence before the Commons, he declares he did intentionally, in naming Mr. Markham, break the Company's orders: it is singular, I say, that this man should now pretend to be so sore upon this point. What is it now that makes him break through all the rules of common decency and common propriety, and shew all the burnings of guilt, upon being accused of the breach of one of the innumerable orders which he has broken; of which he has avowed the breaking, and attempted to justify himself a thousand times in the Company's books, for having broken?

My Lords, one of his own body, one of the Council, has sworn at your bar, what he repeatedly declared to be his sense of it. We consider it as one of the strongest orders that can be given, because the reason of the order is added to it; the Directors declaring that if it

should

should not be found upon inquiry—you see, my Lords, it puts the very case—if you do not find such and such things, we shall consider the English honour wounded and stained, and we direct you to make reparation. There are, in fact, two orders contained in this letter, which we take to be equally strong and positive; and we charge him with the breach of both—namely, the order for inquiry, and the conditional order of restoring to the Begums their jaghires, or making satisfaction for them; and in case of any apprehension of reluctance in the Nabob, to bring them for security into the Company's territories. The two last positive orders are preceded by the supposition of an inquiry, which was to justify him either in the acts he had done or to justify him in making restitution. He did neither the one nor the other. We aver that he disobeyed all these orders. And now let his impatience break out again.

Your Lordships have seen, amongst the various pretences by which this man has endeavoured to justify his various delinquencies, that of fearing to offend the Nabob by the restoration of their jaghires to the Begums, is one. Your Lordships will form your own judgment of the truth or falsehood of this pretence, when you shall have heard the letter which I shall now read to you, written to Mr. Hastings by the Nabob himself.

Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Hastings, 25th February 1782.

" You performed on every occasion towards " me, whatever was becoming of friendship; I " too have done whatever affection required and " you commanded, and in future also, whatever " may be your pleasure, there shall be no devi- " ation therefrom, because whatever you direct " is altogether for my benefit. The business for " which I came to Fyzabad is become settled by " your favour; particulars will become known " to your wisdom from the writings of Mr. Mid- " dleton. I am grateful for your favours. If in " these matters you sincerely approve me, com- " municate it, for it will be a comfort to me. " Having appointed my own aumils to the jag- " hire of the Lady Mother, I have engaged to " pay her cash. She has complied with my " views. Her pleasure is, that after receiving " an engagement, he should deliver up the jag- " hires. What is your pleasure in this matter? " If you command, it will comfort the Lady " Mother giving her back the jaghire after I " have obtained my views; or I will have it " under my aumil. I am obedient to your plea- " sure."

Your Lordships here see the Begum a suppliant to have her jaghire restored (after entering into some engagement that might have been required

quired of her,) and the Nabob, in a tone equally suppliant, expressing his consent, at least, that her request should be complied with, if the command of Mr. Hastings could be procured. My Lords, in order to save your Lordships' time, and that I might not overload this business, I did not intend to have troubled you with any observations upon this part of it; but the charge of falsehood which the Prisoner at your bar has had the audacity to bring against us, has induced me to lay it more particularly before you. We have now done with it; but before we retire, your Lordships will permit me to recapitulate briefly the substance of what has now been urged respecting his conduct towards these miserable women. We accuse him of reiterated breaches of the orders of the Court of Directors, both in the letter and spirit of them, and of his contempt of the opinions which his colleagues in office had formed of them. We charge him with the aggravation of these delinquencies, by the oppression and ruin which they brought upon the family of the Nabob, by the infraction of treaties, and by the disrepute which in his person was sustained by the government he represented, and by the stain left upon the justice, honour, and good faith of the English nation. We charge him with their farther aggravation, by sundry false pretences alleged by him in justi-

fication of this conduct, the pretended reluctance of the Nabob, the fear of offending him, the suggestion of the Begums having forgotten and forgiven the wrongs they had suffered, and of the danger of reviving their discontent by any attempt to redress them, and by his insolent language, that the majesty of justice with which he impudently invests himself, was only to be approached with solicitation. We have farther stated, that the pretence that he was only concerned in this business as an accessary, is equally false; it being on the contrary notorious, that the Nabob was the accessary, forced into the service, and a mere instrument in his hands, and that he and Sir Elijah Impey, (whose employment in this business we stated as a farther aggravation,) were the authors and principal agents. And we farther contend, that each of these aggravations and pretences is itself, in fact, and in its principle, a substantive crime.

Your Lordships witnessed the insolence with which this man, stung to the quick by the recital of his crime, interrupted me; and you heard his recrimination of falsehood aganst us. We again avouch the truth of all and every word we have uttered, and the validity of every proof with which we have supported them. Let his impatience, I say, now again burst forth; he who feels so sensibly every thing that touches him,

him, and yet seeks for an act of indemnity for his own atrocities, by endeavouring to make you believe, that the wrongs of a desolated family are, within one year, forgotten by them, and buried in oblivion.

I trust, my Lords, that both his prosecutors and his judges will evince that patience, which the Criminal wants. Justice is not to wait to have its majesty approached with solicitation; we see that throne, in which resides invisibly, but virtually, the Majesty of England; we see your Lordships representing, in succession, the juridical authority in the highest court in this kingdom, but we do not approach you with solicitation; we make it a petition of right; we claim it; we demand it. The right of seeking redress is not suppliant, even before the Majesty of England; it comes boldly forward, and never thinks it offends its Sovereign, by claiming what is the right of all his people.

We have now done with this business; a business as atrocious as any that is known in the history of mankind; a business that has stained, throughout all Asia, the British character, and by which our fame for honour, integrity, and publick faith, has been forfeited; a business which has introduced us throughout that country, as breakers of faith, destroyers of treaties, plunderers of the weak and unprotected, and has dishonoured, and will for ever dishonour, the

British name. Your Lordships have had all this in evidence. You have seen in what manner the Nabob, his country, his revenues, his subjects, his mother, his family, his nobility, and all their fortunes, real and personal, have been disposed of by the Prisoner at your bar; and having seen this, you will, by the impatience of this criminal, estimate the patience of the unfortunate women into whose injuries he refused to inquire. What he would not do the Commons have done. They know that you have a feeling different from that which he manifested on this occasion; they do not approach you suppliantly, but demand justice; they insist that as the Commons have done their part, your Lordships will perform yours.

We shall next proceed to shew your Lordships how he acted towards another set of women, the women of the late Sujah Dowlah, and for whom the Directors had ordered a maintenance to be secured by an express treaty. You will see that he is cruel towards the weak sex, and to all others, in proportion as they are weak and powerless to resist him.

You will see, I say, when he had usurped the whole government of Oude, and brought it into a servile dependence on himself, how these women fared, and then your Lordships will judge whether or not, and in what degree, he is criminal.

[Adjourned.

TRIAL

OF

WARREN HASTINGS ESQ.

THURSDAY, JUNE 12th, 1794.

SEVENTH DAY OF THE REPLY.

(MR. BURKE.)

MY LORDS,

WHEN I had last the honour of addressing your Lordships from this place, my observations were principally directed to the unjust confiscation and seizure of the jaghires and treasures of the Begums, without previous accusation or trial, or subsequent inquiry into their conduct; in violation of a treaty made with them and guaranteed by the East India Company;—to the long imprisonment and cruel treatment of their ministers, and to the false pretences and abominable principles by which the Prisoner at your bar has attempted to justify his conduct.

The several acts of violence and of oppression were, as we have shewn your Lordships, committed with circumstances of aggravated atrocity highly disgraceful to the British name and character;

racter; and particularly by his forcing the Nabob to become the means and instrument of reducing his mother and grandmother and their families to absolute want and distress.

I have now to call your attention to his treatment of another branch of this miserable family; the women and children of the late Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah. These persons were dependent upon the Begums; and, by the confiscation of their property, and by the ruin of various persons who would otherwise have contributed to their maintenance, were reduced to the last extremity of indigence and want. Being left without the common necessaries of life, they were driven to the necessity of breaking through all those local principles of decorum, which constitute the character of the female sex in that part of the world; and, after fruitless supplications and shrieks of famine, they endeavoured to break the inclosure of the palace, and to force their way to the market-place in order to beg for bread. When they had thus been forced to submit to the extremity of disgrace and degradation, by exposing themselves to publick view with the starving children of their late sovereign the brothers and sisters of the reigning Prince, they were, in this attempt, attacked by the sepoys armed with bludgeons, and driven back by blows into the palace.

My

My Lords, we have first laid before you the sufferings and disgraces of women of the first distinction in Asia; protected by their rank—protected by their sex—protected by their near relation to the prince of the country—protected by two guarantees of the representative of the British government in India. We now come to another class of women, who suffered by the violent misappropriation of the revenues of the Nabob, by which their regular allowance was taken from them; and your Lordships will find, that this man's crimes, at every step we take, ripen in guilt; his acts of positive injustice are always aggravated by his conduct with regard to the consequences of them, and form but a small part in the mass of oppression and tyranny, which we have brought before you.

My Lords, the unjust seizure of the jaghires and treasures of the Begums, out of which those women were maintained, reduced them to a state of indigence, and exposed them not only to the sufferings which belong to the physical nature of man, but also to the indignities which particularly affected their sex and condition. But before I proceed, I will beg leave to re-state to your Lordships, and recall to your memory who these women were. The Nabob Sujah Dowlah had but one legitimate wife; though the Mahometan law admits of this number's being extended in

in certain cases even to four—yet it is for the most part held disreputable, especially when a person is married to a woman of the first distinction, to have more than one legitimate wife. Upon looking into the Hedaia your Lordships will see with what extreme rigour fornication is forbidden; but we know that persons of high rank, by customs that supersede both religion and laws, add to the number of their wives or substitute in their room wives of a subordinate description, and indulge themselves in this licence to an unlimited degree; you will find in Chardin's travels, where he treats of the subject of marriage, that such is the custom of all the princes of the East. The wives of this subordinate class, though they are in reality no better than concubines, and are subject to the power and caprices of their lords, are yet allowed, in the eye of the severest moralists, to have some excuse for their frailty and their weakness; and they accordingly always do find a degree of favour in this world, and become the object of particular protection.

We know that Sujah ul Dowlah was a man unquestionably in his manners very licentious with regard to women, that he had a great number of these women in his family; and that his women and the women attendant upon the persons of his favourites had increased to a very great

great number. We know, that his sons amounted to twenty; or according to Mr. Hastings's own account to nineteen. Montesquieu supposes that there are more females born in the East than in the West. But he says this upon no good ground. We know by better and more regular information concerning this matter, that the birth of males and females in that country, is in the same proportion as it is here; and therefore if you suppose that he had twenty sons, you may suppose he had about nineteen daughters. By the customs of that country all these sons and daughters were considered as persons of eminent distinction, though inferiour to the legitimate children; assuming the rank of their father, without considering the rank which their mother held. All these wives with their children, and all their female servants and attendants, amounting in the whole to about eight hundred persons, were shut up in what they call the Khourd Mhal or lesser Palace. This place is described by one of the witnesses to be about as large as St. James's Square. Your Lordships have been told, that in other circumstances as well as this, these women were considered as objects of a great degree of respect, and of the greatest degree of protection. I refer your Lordships to the treaty by which their maintenance

maintenance was guaranteed by the English government.

In order to let your Lordships see that I state nothing to you but what is supported not only by general history, which is enough to support an acccount of general manners, but by the particular and peculiar opinions of a person best informed of the nature of the case; I will refer you to the Nabob himself, for undoubtedly the Nabob of Oude, the Vizier of the empire, the Subadar of the country, was most likely to be the best judge of what respect was due to the women of his father's family. I will therefore read to your Lordships, from his own letters, what the Nabob's opinion was upon this subject.

Extract of a letter from the Vizier, received 23d of August 1782:—"I never found resource "equal to the necessary expences. Every year "by taking from the ministers and selling the "articles of my Harkhanna, I with great dis- "tress transacted the business; but I could not "take care of my dependents, so that some of "my brothers, from their difficulties, arose and "departed; and the people of the Khourd Mhal "of the late Nawab, who are all my mothers, "from their distresses are reduced to poverty

"and

" and involved in difficulties; no man of rank
" is deficient in the care of his dependents, in
" proportion to his ability."

Another letter from the Vizier, received the 31st July 1784:—" My brother, dear as life,
" Saadit Ali Khan, has requested that I would
" permit his mother to go and reside with him;
" my friend, all the mothers of my brothers, and
" the women of the late Nawab, whom I respect
" as my own mothers, are here, and it is incum-
" bent upon me to support them; accordingly
" I do it, and it is improper that they should be
" separated, nor do I approve it. By God's
" blessing and your kindness, I hope that all
" the women of the late Nawab may remain
" here; it is the wish also of my grandmother
" and my mother that they should."

Your Lordships now see in what degree of estimation the Nabob held these women. He regarded the wives of his father as his honourary mothers; he considers their children as his brethren; he thinks it would be highly dishonourable to his government, if one of them was taken out of the sanctuary in which they are placed, and in which, he says, the great of the country are obliged to maintain their dependents. This is the account given by the person best acquainted

quainted with the usages of the country; best acquainted with his own duties; best acquainted with his own wishes.

Now, my Lords, you will see in what light another person, the agent of a trading company, who designates himself under the name of Majesty, and assumes other great distinctions, presumes also to consider these persons; and in what contempt he is pleased to hold, what is respected, and what is held sacred in that country. What I am now going to quote, is from the Prisoner's second defence. For I must remind your Lordships, that Mr. Hastings has made three defences; one in the House of Commons; another in the lobby of the House of Commons; and a third at your Lordships' bar. The second defence, though delivered without name, to the Members in the lobby of the House of Commons, has been proved at your Lordships' bar, to be written by himself. This lobby, this out-of-door defence, militates in some respects, as your Lordships will find, with the in-door defence; but it probably contains the real sentiments of Mr. Hastings himself, delivered with a little more freeness when he gets into the open air, like the man who was so vain of some silly plot he had hatched, that he told it to the hackney coachman, and every man he met in the streets.

He

He says, "Begums are the ladies of an eastern "Prince, but these women are also styled the "Ladies of the late Vizier, and their sufferings "are painted in such strong colours, that the un- "suspecting reader is led to mix the subjects "together, and to suppose that these latter too "were princesses of Oude; that all their suf- "ferings proceeded from some act of mine, or "had the sanction of my authority or permission. "The fact is, that the persons of the Khourd "Mahl (or little Seraglio) were young creatures "picked up wherever youth and beauty could "be found, and mostly purchased from amongst "the most necessitous and meanest ranks of "the people, for the Nabob's pleasures." In the in-door defence, he says, "The said women, "who were mostly persons of low condition, "and the said children, if any such there were, "lived in the Khourd Mahl, on an esta- "blishment entirely distinct from the said "Begums."

My Lords, you have seen what was the opinion of the Nabob, who ought to know the nature and circumstances of his father's palace, respecting these women; you hear what Mr. Hastings's opinion is: and now the question is, whether your Lordships will consider these women in the same light in which the person does who

is most nearly connected with them, and most likely to know them, or in the way in which Mr. Hastings has thought proper, within doors and without doors, to describe them. Your Lordships will be pleased to observe, that he has brought no proof whatever of facts, which are so boldly asserted by him in defiance of proof to the contrary, totally at variance with the letter of the son of the man to whom these women belonged. Your Lordships, I say, will remark, that he has produced not one word of evidence, either within the House of Commons or the House of Peers, or in the lobby, or any where else, to verify any one word he has said. He slanders these women in order to lessen that compassion which your Lordships might have for the sufferings he inflicted upon them. But admitting that some of these women were of a meaner condition, and that they derived nothing from their connexion with the dignity of the person by whom they had children, (and we know that in the whole they amounted to about fourscore children, the Nabob having a race like the Patriarchs of old, as many great persons in that part of the world still have :) Supposing I say all this to be true; yet when persons are reduced from ease and affluence to misery and distress, they naturally excite in the mind a greater degree of compassion by comparing the circumstances in which they

they once stood, with those into which they are fallen; for famine, degradation and oppression, were famine, degradation and oppression to those persons, even though they were as mean as Mr. Hastings chooses to represent them. But I hope, as you will sympathize with the great on account of their condition, that you will sympathize with all mankind on the ground of the common condition of humanity, which belongs to us all; therefore I hope your Lordships will not consider the calumny of Mr. Hastings against those women, as any other than as an aggravation of his offence against them. That is the light in which the House of Commons considered it; for they had heard, both his in-door and out-door defence, and they still persevered in making the Charge, and do persevere in making it still.

We have first stated what these women were; in what light they stood with the Nabob; in what light they stood with the country at large. I have now to state in what light they stood with the British government, previous to this invasion of their rights; and we will prove they were the actual subjects of a guarantee by the Company.

Extract from an Agreement made by Mr. Middleton, to all the particulars of which he

engages to procure a treaty from the Nabob Azoph ul Dowlah after his arrival, and that he will also sign it, as follows :—

" First, that whenever the Begum shall choose " to go to Mecca, she shall be permitted " to go."

" Second, that when the Nabob shall arrive, " I (Mr. Middleton) will procure suitable al- " lowances to be made to the ladies of the " Zenana and the children of the late Nabob " Sujah ul Dowlah, and take care that they " are paid."

" Third, that the festivals, (Shaddee) and " marriages of the children of the late Nabob " Sujah ul Dowlah, shall be at the disposal of " the Begum ; whenever she thinks proper she " shall marry them ; and whatever money shall " be necessary for these expences, shall be paid " by the Nabob."

" Fourth, that the Syer of Coda Gunge and " Ally Gunge shall be retained by the Begum " as heretofore."

" Fifth, that I (Mr. Middleton) will, upon the " arrival of the Nabob, procure Vizier Gunge " and the garden of Sepoy dand Khan, or their " equivalent, for the Begum."

" Sixth, that I (Mr. Middleton) will en- " deavour to obtain from the Nabob the sum of " 1,150,000 rupees on account of the purchase

" of

" of Metchee Bohaun, and the house of Sa-
" hebjee and the fort of the Gossim, with the
" land and garden and the barraderry on
" the banks of Goomply, and bazar and
" garden of the house of Mahnarain and the
" house of Beng Peofand at Lucknow; all of
" which the Nabob Azoph ul Dowlah has as-
" sumed possession of."

" Seventh, that I will settle with the Nabob
" the allowances to be made in ready money to
" the ladies of Zenana and others specified, in
" the following amount:"—Total 17 lacks 250 rupees per month.

" Eighth, upon the arrival of the Nabob
" Azoph ul Dowlah Bahadre, I will endeavour
" with all my influence to settle the monthly
" allowances of Mohrum Ally Khan and Mah-
" mud Eltifant Khan, &c. the attendants of the
" Begums."

" Ninth, that if the Begum shall go to Mecca,
" she shall leave her mahals and jaghires to
" the Begum, the mother of Azoph ul Dowlah,
" who shall remit the revenues thereof to the
" Burree Begum; no one shall prevent her en-
" joying her jaghires."

Now, my Lords, we will read the copy of an Engagement under the seal of the Nabob Azoph

ul Dowlah, and under the seal and signature in English, of Mr. Middleton, as follows :—

" First, I, who am the Nabob Azoph ul " Dowlah Bahadre, do agree, that the jaghires " and the ginges and monthly allowance of the " officers and servants, and of the ladies of the " Zenana and of those specified in the accounts " annexed, shall be at the disposal and under " the management and authority of the Begum, " and no one shall oppose or prevent it; this " I will punctually observe. In this agreement " Mr. Middleton and the English are engaged."

" Second, whenever the Begum may choose " to go to Mecca I will not oppose it."

" Third, whenever the Begum should go to " Mecca, she shall leave her lands, jaghires, &c. " either in the care of my mother or of me; and " I will procure bills for the amount of their " revenues, and send them to her; no one shall " oppose this."

" Fourth, the Begum shall have authority " over all the ladies of her Zenana, she shall " let them remain with me and not let them go " any where without my permission, or keep " them with her."

" Fifth, the jaghires Coda Gung and Ally " Gunge, &c. with the mahal and syer belong- " ing to the Begum and made over, shall remain

" as heretofore in her possession.—Total 14,460
" rupees per month."

" Eighth, the Begum has authority over the
" ladies and attendants of the Zenana; neither
" myself nor any one else will oppose it."

" Ninth, the Begum (my grandmother) shall
" have the authority in all festivals, and in the
" marriage of the children of the late Nabob
" Sujah ul Dowlah, and with the consent of my
" mother and myself, shall regulate them; ex-
" cepting in the festivals (Shadee,) the authority
" is mine."

" The English are guarantees to the above
" engagements, so long as the Begum shall
" exist."

Your Lordships will observe something here worthy of your notice. You will first perceive, that the very treaty in which Mr. Hastings, by his representative Mr. Middleton, was a party concerned, supposes that the Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah had other children besides the reigning prince by his sole legitimate wife; and yet Mr. Hastings in his defence has thought proper, with a full knowledge of that circumstance, to doubt whether there were any other children. You next see, that these women have Mr. Middleton's (that is, Mr. Hastings's) guarantee for the allowances which are made and settled upon

them, and for the maintenance of their attendants, for the security and enjoyment of their own possessions, for their having a law officer of high rank, a moulavre of their own. In short there is a regular establishment formed for all these women; they are not separated as a part distinct from the Begums; but they are put, by this very guarantee, entirely under their management; the maintenance of the children is secured, the whole order and economy of their establishment is delivered entirely to the Begum the grandmother, and the Begum the mother of the Nabob.

My Lords, you see that all these arrangements have the solemn guarantee of the Company, and that these women form a very considerable part of that guarantee; and therefore your Lordships will not treat their sufferings, inflicted in violation of the Company's own settlement and guarantee, as a matter of no consideration for you. But to proceed—

We have proved to your Lordships, that the Nabob was reduced to a state of the greatest possible misery and distress; that his whole revenue was sequestered into the hands of Mr. Hastings's agents; that by the Treaty of Chunar he was to be relieved from the expence of a body of troops, with which he had been burdened without his own voluntary consent; nay more,

the

the temporary brigade which Mr. Hastings proposed to take off, but kept on; which he considers not only as a great distress to his finances, but a dreadful scourge and calamity to his country; there was a whole pension list upon it, with such enormous pensions as 18,000*l.* a year to Sir Eyre Coote, and other pensions that Mr. Hastings proposed to take off, but did not. That in proportion as the Nabob's distress increased, Mr. Hastings's demands increased too; he was not satisfied with taking from him for the Company, but he took from him for himself; he demanded six hundred thousand pounds as a loan, when he knew he had neither money nor credit.

The consequence of these acts of violence was, that these people, besieged by the English troops, and deprived of every resource, even of the funds of charity, by which the protectors of the family, male and female, might have relieved them, but which the cruel rapacity of Mr. Hastings had either entirely taken away, or greatly diminished, were reduced to the last extremity of distress.

After the length of time which has elapsed since we first brought these matters, with their proofs, I shall beg leave, before you go to judgment, to refresh your memory with a recital of a part of that evidence; in order that your Lordships

Lordships may again fully and distinctly comprehend the nature and extent of the oppression, cruelty, and injustice committed by Mr. Hastings, and by which you may estimate the punishment you will inflict upon him.

Letter from Captain Leonard Jaques to Richard Johnson, Esq. resident at the Vizier's Court; March 6th, 1782.

"Sir,—The women belonging to the Khourd "Mahl complain of their being in want of every "necessary of life, and are at last drove to that "desperation, that they at night get on the top "of the Zenana, make a great disturbance, and "last night not only abused the centinels posted "in the gardens, but threw dirt at them; they "threatened to throw themselves from the "walls of the Zenana, and also to break out of "it. Humanity obliges me to acquaint you "of this matter, and to request to know if you "have any direction to give me concerning it. "I also beg leave to acquaint you, I sent for "Lataffit Ali Khan the cojah who has the charge "of them, who informs me, their complaint is "well grounded, that they have sold every "thing they had, even to the clothes from their "backs, and now have no means of existing; "enclosed, I transmit you a letter from Mona-"tall on the subject."

Letter

Letter from Captain Jaques to Richard Johnson, Esq. March 7th, 1782.

" Sir,—I beg leave to address you again " concerning the women in the Khourd Mahl ; " their behaviour last night was so furious that " there seemed the greatest probability of their " proceeding to the utmost extremities, and " that they would either throw themselves from " the walls, or force the doors of the Zenana. " I have made every inquiry concerning the " cause of their complaints, and find from La- " taffit Ali Khan, that they are in a starving " condition, having sold all their clothes and " necessaries, and now have not wherewithal " to support nature ; and as my instructions are " quite silent upon this head, should be glad " to know how to proceed in case they were to " force the doors of the Zenana ; as I suspect " it will happen, should no subsistence be very " quickly sent to them."

Letter from Major Gilpin to John Bristow, Esq. Resident at the Court of Lucknow ; 30th October 1782.

" Last night, about eight o'clock, the women " in the Khourd Mahl Zenana, under the charge " of Lataffit Ali Khan, assembled on the tops " of

" of the buildings, crying in a most lamentable " manner for food; that for the last four days " they had got but a very scanty allowance, " and that yesterday they had got none. The " melancholy cries of famine are more easily " imagined than described; and from their re- " presentations, I fear that the Nabob's agents " for that business are very inattentive. I there- " fore think it requisite to make you acquainted " with the circumstance, that his Excellency " the Nabob may cause his agents to be more " circumspect in their conduct to these poor " unhappy women."

Letter from Mr. Bristow to Major Gilpin; Fyzabad, 4th November 1782.

" Sir,—I have received your letters of the " 12th, 19th, 27th, and 30th ultimo. I com- " municated the contents of that of the 30th to " the minister, who promised me to issue orders " for the payment of a sum of money to relieve " the distress of the Khourd Mahl. I shall also " forward a bill for 10,000 rupees to you in " the course of three or four days; and if in " the mean time you may find means to supply " to the amount of that sum, I will become " personally responsible to you for the repay- " ment."

Letter

Letter from Major Gilpin to John Bristow, Esq. at the Court of Lucknow; Fyzabad, 15th November 1782.

" Sir,—The repeated cries of the women in " the Khourd Mahl Zenana for subsistence, " have been truly melancholy. They beg most " piteously for liberty, that they may earn their " daily bread by laborious servitude, or be re- " lieved from their misery by immediate death. " In consequence of their unhappy situation, " I have this day taken the liberty of drawing " on you in favour of Ramnarain at ten days " sight, for twenty son Kerah rupees, ten thou- " sand of which I have paid to Cojah Lataffit " Ali Khan, under whose charge that Ze- " nana is."

These, my Lords, are the state of the distresses in the year 1782; and your Lordships will see that they continued almost, with only occasional reliefs, during the period of that whole year. Now we enter into the year 1783, to shew you that it continued during the whole time; and then I shall make a very few remarks upon it.

I will now read to your Lordships a part of Mr. Holt's evidence, by which it is proved that Mr. Hastings was duly advertized of all these miserable

miserable and calamitous circumstances: — "*Q.* Whether you saw a letter of intelligence from Fyzabad, containing a relation of the treatment of the women in the Khourd Mahl?—*A.*. Yes, I did, and translated it. *Q.* From whom did it come?—*A.* Hoolas Roi. *Q.* Who was he?—*A.* An agent of the Resident at Fyzabad, employed for the purpose of transmitting information to the Resident. *Q.* Was that paper transmitted to Mr. Hastings?—*A.* To the best of my recollection it was transmitted to the Board, after I had attested it. *Q.* Do you remember at what distance of time after the receipt of the intelligence respecting the distresses of the Khourd Mahl, that paper was transmitted to Calcutta?—*A.* I cannot say. *Q.* Do you believe it was transmitted within ten months after the time it was received?—*A.* I understood it to be a letter received just before it was transmitted. *Q.* Then you understand it was transmitted as soon as received?—*A.* Yes, in the course of three days. *Q.* Can you bring to your mind the time at which the translation was made?—*A.* To the best of my recollection it was in January 1784. *Q.* Whether the distresses that had been complained of had ceased for above a twelvemonth before the distresses of the Khourd Mahl?—*A.* I understood they were new distresses. *Q.* Then you state that that account

account transmitted in 1784 was, as you understand, an account of new distresses?—*A.* Yes."

I shall now refer your Lordships to page 899 of your printed minutes:—[The Managers for the Commons acquainted the House, that they would next read the paper of intelligence which had been authenticated by Mr. Holt, in his evidence at the bar, relative to the miserable situation of these women, which they meant to bring home to Mr. Hastings:]——An Extract of a Consultation of the 17th February 1784.—At a Council; present, The Honourable Warren Hastings, Esq. Governor General, President; Edward Wheeler and John Stables, Esqrs. Mr. Macpherson absent from the Presidency for the benefit of his health; The following letter and its enclosures were received from Mr. Bristow on the 8th instant, and circulated:—" Honour-
" able Sir, and Gentlemen:—I have the honour
" to forward for your further information, the
" Enclosure No. 3; it contains a relation of the
" hardships endured by the ladies of the late
" Vizier Zenana."—Signed John Bristow.

Translation of a Paper of intelligence from Fyzabad.

" The ladies, their attendants and servants,
" were still as clamorous as last night; Lataffit the

" the daroga went to them, and remonstrated
" with them on the impropriety of their con-
" duct, at the same time assuring them, that
" in a few days all their allowances would be
" paid, and should that not be the case he
" would advance them ten days subsistence,
" upon condition that they returned to their
" habitations; none of them however consented
" to his proposal, but were still intent upon
" making their escape through the bazar, and
" in consequence formed themselves in the fol-
" lowing order:—The children in the front,
" behind them the ladies of the Seraglio, and
" behind them again their attendants; but their
" intentions were frustrated, by the opposition
" which they met with from Lataffit's sepoys.
" The next day Lataffit went twice to the
" women, and used his endeavours to make
" them return into the Zenana, promising to
" advance them ten thousand rupees, which
" upon the money being paid down, they agreed
" to comply with; but night coming on, no-
" thing transpired.

" On the day following, their clamours were
" more violent than usual; Lataffit went to
" confer with them on the business of yester-
" day, offering the same terms, depending upon
" the fidelity of his promises, they consented
" to return to their apartments, which they

" accordingly

" accordingly did, except two or three of the " ladies, and most of their attendants; Lataffit " went then to Hoshmund Ali Khan, to con- " sult with him about what means they should " take; they came to a resolution of driving " them in by force, and gave orders to their " sepoys to beat any one of the women who " should attempt to move forward; the sepoys " accordingly assembled, and each one being " provided with a bludgeon, they drove them, " by dint of beating, into the Zenana; the " women, seeing the treachery of Lataffit, pro- " ceeded to throw stones and bricks at the " sepoys and again attempted to get out, but " finding that impossible from the gates being " shut, they kept up a continual discharge till " about twelve o'clock, when finding their situa- " tion desperate, they returned into the Rung " Mahl, and forced their way from thence into " the palace, and dispersed themselves about " the house and gardens. After this they were " desirous of getting into the Begum's apart- " ments, but she, being apprized of their inten- " tions, ordered the doors to be shut; in the " mean time Lataffit and Hoshmund Ali Khan " posted justices to secure the gates of the les- " ser Mahl. During the whole of this conflict, " the ladies and women remained exposed to " the view of the sepoys.

" The Begum then sent for Lataffit and " Hoshmund Ali Khan, whom she severely " reprimanded, and insisted upon knowing the " cause of this infamous behaviour; they pleaded " in their defence the impossibility of helping " it, as the treatment the women had met with " had only been conformable to his Excellency " the Vizier's orders. The Begum alleged, " that even admitting that the Nabob had given " these orders, they were by no means autho- " rized in this manner to disgrace the family of " Sujah Dowlah, and should they not receive " their allowances for a day or two, it could " be of no great moment; what had passed " was now at an end, but that the Vizier should " certainly be acquainted with the whole of the " affair, and that whatever he directed, she " should implicitly comply with. The Begum " then sent for two of the children who were " wounded in the affray of last night, and after " endeavouring to sooth them, she again sent " to Lataffit and Hoshmund Ali Khan, and in " the presence of the children again expressed " her disapprobation of their conduct, and the " improbability of Azoph ul Dowlah's suffering " the ladies and children of Sujah Dowlah to " be disgraced by being exposed to the view of " the sepoys; upon which Lataffit produced " the letter from the Nabob, representing that

he

" he was amenable only to the order of his
" Excellency, and that whatever he ordered it
" was his duty to obey; and that had the ladies
" thought proper to have retired quietly to
" their apartments, he would not have used the
" means he had taken to compel them. The
" Begum again observed, that what had passed
" was now over. She then gave the children
" 400 rupees and dismissed them, and sent
" word by Sunrud and the other eunuchs, that
" if the ladies would peaceably retire to their
" apartments, Lataffit would supply them with
" three or four thousand rupees for their pre-
" sent expences, and recommended them not
" to incur any further disgrace; and that if
" they did not think proper to act agreeably to
" her directions, they would do wrong. The
" ladies followed her advice, and about ten at
" night went back to the Zenana. The next
" morning the Begum waited upon the mother
" of Sujah Dowlah, and related to her all the
" circumstances of the disturbance; the mother
" of Sujah Dowlah returned for answer, that
" after there being no accounts kept by crores
" of revenue, she was not surprised that the
" family of Sujah Dowlah, in their endeavours
" to procure subsistence, should be obliged to
" expose themselves to the meanest of the peo-
" ple. After bewailing their misfortunes and

"shedding many tears, the Begum took her "leave and returned home."

As a proof of the extremity of the distress which reigned in the Khourd Mahl, your Lordships have been told, that these women must have perished through famine, if their gaolers, Captain Jaques and Major Gilpin, had not raised money upon their own credit, and supplied them with an occasional relief; and therefore when they talk of his peculation, of his taking but a bribe here and a bribe there, see the consequences of his system of peculation, see the consequence of a usurpation which extinguishes the natural authority of the country, see the consequences of a clandestine correspondence that does not let the injuries of the country come regularly before the authorities in Oude, to relieve it; consider the whole mass of crimes, and then consider the sufferings that have arisen in consequence of it.

My Lords, it was not corporal pain alone that these miserable women suffered. The unsatisfied cravings of hunger, and the blows of the sepoys bludgeons, could touch only the physical part of their nature. But, my Lords, men are made of two parts; the physical part and the moral. The former he has in common with the brute creation. Like theirs, our corporeal

poreal pains are very limited and temporary. But the sufferings which touch our moral nature, have a wider range, and are infinitely more acute, driving the sufferer sometimes to the extremities of despair and distraction. Man, in his moral nature, becomes, in his progress through life, a creature of prejudice—a creature of opinions—a creature of habits, and of sentiments growing out of them. These form our second nature, as inhabitants of the country and members of the society in which Providence has placed us. This sensibility of our moral nature is far more acute in that sex, which I may say, without any compliment, forms the better and more virtuous part of mankind; and which is at the same time the least protected from the insults and outrages to which this sensibility exposes them. This is a new source of feelings that often make corporal distress doubly felt; and it has a whole class of distresses of its own. These are the things that have gone to the heart of the Commons.

We have stated first, the sufferings of the Begum, and secondly the sufferings of the two thousand women, I believe they are not fewer in number, that belong to them, and are dependent upon them, and dependent upon their well-being. We have stated to you, that the Court of Directors were shocked and astonished when

they received the account of the first, before they had heard the second. We have proved they desired him to redress the former, if, upon inquiry, he found that his original suspicions concerning their conduct were ill founded. He has declared here that he did not consider these as orders. Whether they were orders or not, could any thing have been more pressing upon all the duties and all the sentiments of man than at least to do what was just, that is, to make such an inquiry as in the result might justify his acts, or have entitled them to redress? Not one trace of inquiry or redress do we find, except we suppose, as we hear nothing after this of the famine, that Mr. Bristow, who seems to be a man of humanity, did so effectually interpose, that they should no longer depend for the safety of their honour on the bludgeons of the sepoys, by which alone it seems they were defended from the profane view of the vulgar, and which we must state as a matter of great aggravation in this case.

The Counsel on the other side say that all this intelligence comes in an anonymous paper without date, transmitted from a newspaper writer at Fyzabad. This is the contempt with which they treat this serious paper sent to Mr. Hastings himself by official authority; by Hoolas Roi;

Roi, who was the newswriter at Fyzabad; the person appointed to convey authentick intelligence concerning the state of it to the Resident at Lucknow. The Resident received it as such; he transmitted it to Mr. Hastings, and it was not till this hour, till the Counsel were instructed (God forgive them for obeying such instructions) to treat these things with ridicule, that we have heard this Hoolas Roi called a common newswriter of anonymous information, and the like. If the information had come in any way the least authentick, instead of coming in a manner the most authentick in which it was possible to come to Mr. Hastings—he was bound by every feeling of humanity, every principle of regard to his own honour and his employer's, to see whether it was true or false; if false to refute it; if true to afford redress: he has done neither. Therefore we charge him with being the cause; we charge upon him the consequences, with all the aggravations attending them; and we call both upon justice and humanity for redress, as far as it can be afforded to these people, and for the severest punishments which your Lordships can inflict upon the author of these evils. If instead of the mass of crimes that we have brought before you, this singly had been charged upon the Prisoner, I will say that it is a greater crime than any man has ever been impeached for

before the House of Lords, from the first records of Parliament to this hour.

I need not remind your Lordships of one particular circumstance in this cruel outrage. No excuse or pretence whatever is brought forward in its justification. With respect to the Begums, they have been charged with rebellion; but who has accused the miserable inhabitants of the Khourd Mahl of rebellion or rebellious designs? What hearsay is there even against them of it?—No; even the persons permitted by Mr. Hastings to rob and destroy the country, and who are stated by him to have been so employed; not one of that legion of locusts which he had sent into the country to eat up and devour the bread of its inhabitants; and who had been the cause, both of the famine itself, and of the inability of the Begums to struggle with it; none of these people, I say, ventured even a hearsay about these women.

Were the sufferers few? There were eight hundred of them, besides children. Were they persons of any rank and consequence? We are told that they were persons of considerable rank and distinction, connected with, and living under the protection of women of the first rank in Asia. Were they persons not deserving pity? We know that they were innocent women and children, not accused, and unsuspected of any crime.

crime. He has taken into his head, to speak contemptuously of these women of the Khourd Mahl: but your Lordships will consider both descriptions generally with some respect; and where they are not objects of the highest respect, they will be objects of your compassion. Your Lordships, by your avenging justice, will rescue the name of the British government from the foulest disgrace which this man has brought upon it.

An account of these transactions, as we have proved by Mr. Holt's evidence, was regularly transmitted and made known to him. But why do I say made known to him?—Do not your Lordships know that Oude was his, that he treated it like his private estate, that he managed it in all its concerns as if it were his private demesne; that the Nabob dared not do a single act without him; that he had a Resident there nominated by himself, and forced upon the Nabob, in defiance of the Company's orders? yet notwithstanding all this, we do not find a trace of any thing done to relieve the aggravated distresses of these unfortunate people.

These are some of the consequences of that abominable system, which, in defiance of the laws of his country, Mr. Hastings established in Oude; he knew every thing there, he had spies upon his regular agents, and spies again upon them.

them. We can prove, (indeed he has himself proved,) that besides his correspondence with his avowed agents Major Palmer and Major Davy, he had secret correspondence with a whole host of agents and pensioners, who did and must have informed him of every circumstance of these affairs. But if he had never been informed of it at all, the Commons contend, and very well and justly contend; that he who usurps the government of a country, who extinguishes the authority of its native sovereign, and places in it instruments of his own, and that in defiance of those whose orders he was bound to obey, is responsible for every thing that was done in the country. We do charge him with these acts of delinquencies and omissions, we declare him responsible for them; and we call for your Lordship's judgment upon these outrages against humanity, as cruel perhaps as ever were suffered in any country.

My Lords, if there is a spark of manhood, if there is in your breasts the least feeling for our common humanity, and especially for the sufferings and distresses of that part of human nature which is made by its peculiar constitution more quick and sensible.—If, I say, there is a trace of this in your breasts, if you are yet alive to such feelings, it is impossible that you should not join with the Commons of Great Britain, in

feeling

feeling the utmost degree of indignation against the man who was the guilty cause of this accumulated distress. You see women, whom we have proved to be of respectable rank and condition, exposed to what is held to be the last of indignities in that country, the view of a base, insulting, ridiculing, or perhaps vainly pitying populace. You have before you the first women in Asia, who consider their honour as joined with that of these people, weeping and bewailing the calamities of their house. You have seen, that in this misery and distress the sons of the Nabob were involved, and that two of them were wounded in an attempt to escape; and yet this man has had the impudence to declare his doubts of the Nabob's having had any children in the place; though the account of what was going on had been regularly transmitted to him. After this, what is there in his conduct that we can wonder at?

My Lords, the maintenance of these women had been guaranteed by the Company, but it was doubly guaranteed under the great seal of humanity. The conscience of every man, and more especially of the great and powerful, is the keeper of that great seal, and knows what is due to its authority. For the violation of both these guarantees, without even the vain and frivolous pretence of a rebellion, and for all its consequences,

consequences, Mr. Hastings is answerable; and he will not escape your justice by those miserable excuses which he has produced to the Court of Directors, and which he has produced here in his justification. My Lords, that justification we leave with your Lordships.

We now proceed to another part of our Charge, which Mr. Hastings has not thought proper to deny, but upon which we shall beg leave to make a few observations. You will first hear read to you, from the 17th Article of our Charge, the subject matter to which we now wish to call your attention.

" That in or about the month of March " 1783, three of the said brothers of the Na- " bob, namely, Myrza Hyder Ally, Myrza " Imay ul Ally, and Myrza Syof Ally, did " represent to the said Bristow, that they were " in distress for dry bread and clothes; and in " consequence of such representation, were re- " lieved by the intervention of the said Bristow; " but soon after the deputation of the said " Warren Hastings, to Oude, in the year 1784; " that is to say, sometime in or about the " month of September, in the said year 1784, " the said Myrza Hyder Ally, one of the three " princes aforesaid, did fly to the province of " Benares, and did remain there in great dis-

tress;

" tress; and that although the said Warren " Hastings did write to the said Nabob an ac- " count of the aforesaid circumstances, in cer- " tain loose, light, and disrespectful expressions " concerning the said Myrza Hyder Ally, he " did not, as he was in duty bound to do, in " anywise exert that influence which he ac- " tually and notoriously possessed over the mind " of the said Nabob, for the relief of the said " prince, the brother of the said Nabob; but " without obtaining any satisfactory and spe- " cific assurances, either from the said Nabob, " or the said minister, the said Warren Hastings " did content himself with advising the said " prince to return to his brother the said " Nabob."

The answer of Mr. Hastings to that part of the seventeenth Article, states:—" And the " said Warren Hastings says, that in or about " the month of July, in the year 1783, a paper " was received enclosed in a letter to the Go- " vernour General and Council from Mr. " Bristow, purporting to be a translation of a " letter from three brothers of the said Vizier, " in which they did represent themselves to be " in distress for dry bread, and clothes; but " whether such distress actually existed, and " was relieved by the said Bristow, the said " Warren Hastings cannot set forth."

" And

" And the said Warren Hastings further " says, that some time in the month of Septem- " ber 1784, the said Warren Hastings being " then at Benares, did receive information that " Myrza Hyder Ally was arrived there, and the " said Warren Hastings, not knowing before " that time that there was any such person, " did write to the Nabob Vizier, to the purport " or effect following :—' A few days I learned " that a person called Myrza Hyder Ally was " arrived at Benares, and called himself a son " of the deceased Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, and " I was also told that he came from Fyzabad; " as I did not know whether he left Fyzabad, " with or without your consent, I therefore did " not pay him much attention, and I now " trouble you to give me every information on " the subject, how he came here, and what " your intentions are about him; he remains " here in great distress, and I therefore wish to " know your sentiments.' "

" And the said Warren Hastings further " says, that having received an answer from the " said Vizier, he did, on or about the 13th " of October 1784, enclose the same in a letter " to the said Myrza, of which letter the follow- " ing is a copy :—' An answer is arrived to " what I wrote on your account to the Nabob " Vizier, which I enclose to you; having read " it, you will send it back. I conceive you had

" better

" better go to the Nabob Vizier's presence, " who will certainly afford you protection and " assistance. I will write what is proper to " carry you to the Nabob, and it will in every " respect be for your good; whatever may be " your intention on this head, you will write " to me.' "

" And the said Warren Hastings submits, " that it was no part of his duty as Governour " General, to interfere with the said Vizier, on " behalf of the said Myrza; or to obtain from " the said Vizier, any specifick assurances on " the subject."

Continuation of the seventeenth Article of the Charge:—" That in order to avoid famine at " home, another of the Nabob's brothers, by " name Myrza Jungli, was under the necessity " of flying from his native country, and did seek " protection from a certain Mahometan lord " called Myrza Shuffu Khan, then prime minis- " ter of the Mogul, from whom he did go to " the camp of the Mahratta chief Mhadagee " Scindia, where he did solicit and obtain a mili- " tary command, together with a grant of lands " or jaghire, for the subsistence of himself, his " family and followers; but wishing again to " be received under the protection of the " British government, the said Myrza Jungli, " in 1783, did apply to the said Resident Bristow,

" Bristow, through David Anderson, Esq. then " on an embassy in the camp of the said Scin- " dia; and in consequence of such application, " the said Bristow, sensible of the disgrace " which the exile of the said Myrza Jungli " reflected, both on the said Nabob of Oude " and the British nation, did negociate with the " Nabob and his ministers for the return of the " said Myrza Jungli, and for the settlement and " regular payment of some proper allowance " for the maintenance of the said Myrza " Jungli; but the allowance required was ulti- " mately refused; and although the whole " of the transactions aforesaid were duly re- " presented to the said Warren Hastings, by " the said Anderson, and by the said Bris- " tow; and although he had himself received, " so early as the 23d of August 1782, a letter " from the Vizier, grievously complaining of " the cruel and extortious demands made " upon him by the said Warren Hastings; in " which letter he did expressly mention the " flight of his brother, and the distresses of the " women of his late father, who he said were " all his mothers; and that his said brothers, " from the resumption of their jaghires, were " reduced to great affliction and distress; and " he did attribute the said flight of some of his " brethren, and the distresses of the rest, and

" of

" of the women who stood in a species of ma-
" ternal relation to him, as owing to the afore-
" said oppressive demands; yet the said Warren
" Hastings did cruelly, inhumanly, and cor-
" ruptly decline to make any order for the
" better provision of any of the said eminent
" family, or for the return of the said prince,
" who had fled from his brother's court, to
" avoid the danger of perishing by famine."

Answer of Mr. Hastings to that part of the Charge:— " And the said Warren Hastings fur-
" ther says, that he was informed, that Myrza
" Jungli, in the said Article also mentioned, did
" leave his native country in distress, and did go
" to Myrza Shuffu Khan, in the said Article
" also mentioned; and the said Warren Hastings
" likewise admits he was informed, that the said
" Myrza Jungli did afterwards leave the said
" Myrza Shuffu Khan, and repair to the camp
" of Mhadajee Scindia, with a view of obtain-
" ing some establishment for himself and fol-
" lowers."

" And the said Warren Hastings further says,
" that in certain letters written by David An-
" derson, Esq. and John Bristow, Esq. it was
" represented that the said Myrza Jungli did
" apply to the said Bristow, through the said
" Anderson, then on an embassy in the camp of

" the said Scindia, and that in consequence " thereof, the said Bristow did, amongst other " things, apply to the Nabob Vizier for a certain " allowance to be made to the said Myrza, and " for the regular payment thereof, and that " a certain allowance was accordingly settled by " the said Vizier on the said Myrza; and the " said Warren Hastings says, that information of " the above transactions was transmitted to the " Board of Council; and that a letter from the " said Vizier was received on the 23d of August " 1782, containing certain representations of the " distresses of himself and family; and he admits " that no order was made by him the said " Warren Hastings, for the provision of any of " the said family, or for the return of the said " Myrza; but the said Warren Hastings denies " that he was guilty of any cruelty, inhumanity, " or corruption, or of any misconduct whatso- " ever in the matters aforesaid."

Continuation of the Charge:—" That some " time, in or about the month of December " 1783, the Nabob Behadre, another of the bro- " thers of the said Nabob of Oude, did represent " to the said Bristow, that he the said Nabob " Behadre had not received a farthing of his al- " lowance for the current year, and was without " food; and being wounded by an assassin who

" had also murdered his aunt in the very capital " of Oude, the said Nabob Behadre had not a " daum to pay the surgeon, who attended him " for the love of God alone ; that at or about " the period of the above representation, the " said Bristow was recalled, and the said Warren " Hastings proceeded up to Lucknow, but did " not inquire into the said representations trans- " mitted by the said Bristow to Calcutta, nor did " order relief."

Mr. Hastings's answer to the part of the Charge last read :—" And the said Warren Hastings " further says, that on the 29th January 1784, " after the recall of the said Bristow, he the said " Bristow did transmit to the Governour Gene- " ral and Council two letters, one dated the 28th " of December 1783, the other the 7th January " 1784, purporting to be written by the said " Nabob Behadre, addressed to him the said " Bristow, to the effect in the said Article stated ; " and the said Warren Hastings admits, that " when at Lucknow he did not institute an in- " quiry into the supposed transaction in the said " seventeenth Article stated, or make any order " concerning the said Behadre, and he denies " that it was his duty so to do." Here is the name of this Nabob from a list of the jaghirdars stated by Mr. Purling, page 485 printed Minutes.

Amongst the names of jaghirdars, the times when granted, and the amount of the jaghires, there occurs that of the Nabob Behadre, with a grant of a jaghire, of the amount of 20,000 rupees.

[The *Lord Chancellor* here remarked, that what had been just read was matter of the seventeenth Article of the Charge and parts of the answer to it; and that upon looking back to the former proceedings, it has escaped his attention if any matter contained in the seventeenth Article had been made matter of the charge. That it therefore seemed to him that it could not be brought in upon a reply, not having been made matter of the charge originally.]

Mr. Burke. My Lords, I have to say to this, that I believe you have heard these facts made matter of charge by the House of Commons, that I conceive they have been admitted by the Prisoner; and that the Commons have nothing to do with the proofs of any thing in their charge, which is fully and in terms admitted. The proofs which they have produced to your Lordships, were upon matters which were contested; but here the facts are admitted in the fullest manner; we neither have abandoned them, intended to abandon them, or ever shall abandon them; we have made them, as a charge, upon record. The answers to them have been recorded, which

answers

answers are complete admissions of every fact in the charge.

[*Lord Chancellor.* I do not make myself understood. The objection is not that there has not been evidence given upon the seventeenth Article, but at the close of the case on the part of the Managers for the House of Commons, no mention having been made of the matter contained in the seventeenth Article; that therefore, although it may all have been admitted by the answer to be true, yet in justice if from that answer you ground the charge, it is necessary the defendant should be heard upon it.]

Mr. Burke. If your Lordships choose that the defendant shall be heard upon it, we have no kind of objection, nor ever had, or proposed an objection to the defendant being heard upon it. Your Lordships know that the defendant's counsel value themselves upon having abandoned their defence against certain parts of the charge; your Lordships know that they declared that they broke off thus in the middle of their defence, in order to expedite this business.

[*Lord Chancellor.* Referring to the proceedings, I think it a matter perfectly clear, that in the course of the charge, after certain articles had been gone through, the Managers for the Commons closed the case there, leaving therefore all the other articles, excepting those that had

been discussed, as matters standing with the answers against them, but not insisted upon in making out the charge. Of course therefore if the defendant had gone into any of those articles, the defendant must have been stopped upon them, because he would then have been making a case in defence to that which had not been made a case in the prosecution; the objection therefore is not at all that no evidence has been examined. To be sure it would be an answer to that to say, you are now proceeding upon an admission; but even upon those facts that are admitted (if the facts are admitted that are insisted upon as matter in charge) that should come in the original state of the cause, and the defendant in common justice must be heard upon that, and then and then only, come the observations in reply.]

Mr. Burke. We do not know, nor are informed, that any charge, information, or indictment, that is before the Court, and upon record, and is not denied by the defendant, does not stand in full force against him. We conceive it to be so; we conceive it to be agreeable to the analogy of all proceedings; and the reason why we did not go into and insist upon it was, that having a very long cause before us, and having the most full and complete admission upon this subject, we did not proceed further in it. The defendant defends himself by averring that *it was*

not

not his duty. It was not our business to prove that it was his duty. It was he that admitted the facts assumed, to be the foundation of his duty; the negative he was bound to prove, and he never offered to prove it.

All that I can say upon this point is, that his delinquency in the matter in question appeared to us to be a clear distinct case; to be a great offence; an offence charged upon the record, admitted upon the record, and never by us abandoned. As to his defence having been abandoned, we refer your Lordships to the last petition laid by him upon your table; (that libellous petition, which we speak of as a libel upon the House of Commons,) and which has no validity but as it asserts a matter of fact from the Petitioner. And there you will find, that he has declared explicitly, that for the accommodation and ease of this business, and for its expedition, he did abandon his defence at a certain period.

[*Lord Chancellor.* A charge consisting of a variety of articles in their nature (however connected with each other in their subject, but in their nature distinct and specifick,) if only certain articles are pressed in the charge, to those articles only can a defence be applied; and all the other articles, that are not made matter of charge *originally*, have never, in the course of

any proceeding whatever, been taken up *originally* in reply.]

Mr. Burke. With great respect to your Lordship's judgment, we conceive that the objection taken from our not having, at a certain period, argued or observed upon the Prisoner's answer to the articles not insisted upon, is not conclusive; inasmuch as the record still stands, and as our charge still stands. It was never abandoned; and the defendant might have made a justification to it if he had thought fit; he never did think fit so to do. If your Lordships think that we ought not to argue upon it here in our reply, because we did not argue upon it before,—well and good; but we have argued, and do argue in our reply, many things to which he never gave any answer at all. I shall beg leave, if your Lordships please, to retire with my Fellow Managers for a moment, to consult whether we shall press this point, or not. We shall not detain your Lordships many minutes.

The Managers withdrew:—in a few minutes the Managers returned again into the Hall.

Mr. Burke. My Lords, the Managers have consulted among themselves upon this business; they

they first referred to your printed proceedings, in order to see the particular circumstance on which the observation of your Lordship is founded ;—we find it thus stated :—" Then the " Managers for the Commons informed the " Lords, that saving to themselves their un- " doubted rights and privileges, the Commons " were content to rest their charge here."— We rested our charge there, not because we meant to efface any precedent matter of the charge which had been made by us, and of which the facts had been admitted by the defendant, but simply saving our rights and privileges ; that is, to resume (and to make new matter if we thought fit,) the Commons were content to rest the charge there.

I have further to remark to your Lordships, that the counsel for the defendant have opened a vast variety of matter that is not upon record, either on our part or on theirs, in order to illustrate and to support their cause ; and they have spoken day after day upon the principles on which their defence was made ; my great object now is an examination of those principles, and to illustrate the effects of these principles by examples, which are not the less cogent, the less weighty, and the less known, because they are articles in this charge. Most assuredly they are not. If your Lordships recollect the speeches that

that were made here, you know that great merit was given to Mr. Hastings for matters that were not at all in the charge, and which would put us under the greatest difficulties, if we were to take no notice of them in our reply. For instance, his merits in the Mahratta war, and a great mass of matter upon that subject, were obliquely, and for other purposes, brought before you, upon which they argued. That immense mass of matter, containing an immense mass of principles, and which was sometimes supported by alleged facts, sometimes by none, they have opened and argued upon, as matter relative to principle. In answer to their argument, we propose to shew the mischiefs that have happened from the mischievous principles laid down by Mr. Hastings, and the mischievous consequences of them.

If however, after this explanation, your Lordships are of opinion that we ought not to be allowed to take this course, wishing to fall in with your Lordships' sentiments, we shall abandon it. But we will remind your Lordships, that such things stand upon your records; that they stand unanswered, and admitted on your records; and consequently they cannot be destroyed by any act of ours, but by a renunciation of the charge, which renunciation we cannot make, because the defendant has clearly and fully

fully admitted it to be founded in fact. We cannot plead errour; we cannot retract it. And why? Because he has admitted it. We therefore only remind your Lordships, that the charge stands uncontradicted; and that the observation we intended to make upon it, was to shew your Lordships, that the principles upon which he defends all such conduct are totally false and groundless. But though your Lordships should be of opinion that we cannot press it, yet we cannot abandon it; it is not in your power—it is not in our power—it is not in his power, to abandon that charge. You cannot acquit him of that charge; it is impossible. If however, your Lordships, for the accommodation of business, method of proceedings, or any circumstance of that kind, wish we should say no more upon the subject, we close the subject there. Your Lordships are in possession, both of the charge and the admission; and we wish, and we cannot wish better than to leave it as it is upon the record.

The *Lord Chancellor* here said, The opinion of the Lords can only be with me matter of conjecture. I certainly was not commanded by the House to state the observation that had occurred to me--but in the position in which it now stands, I feel no difficulty in saying, as my own judgment, that nothing can be matter in reply,

reply, that does not relate to those articles that were pressed in the original charge; and therefore, in this position of the business of reply, you cannot go into new matter arising out of other articles that were not originally insisted upon.

Mr. Burke. We were aware of the objection that might be made to admitting our observations, if considered as observations upon the seventeenth Article, but not when considered with reference to facts on the record before you, for the purpose of disproving the principles upon which the defendant and his counsel had relied, that was the purpose for which we proposed chiefly to make them; but your Lordship's [the Lord Chancellor's] own personal authority will have great weight with us, and unless we perceive some other Peer differ from you, we will take it in the course we have constantly done; we never have sent your Lordships out of the Hall to consent upon a matter upon which that noble Lord appeared to have formed a decision in his own mind; we take for granted that what is delivered from the woolsack, to which no Peer expresses a dissent, is the sense of the House, as such we take it, and as such we submit to it in this instance.

Therefore leaving this upon the record as it stands, without observing upon it, and submitting

ting to your Lordships' decision, that we cannot, according to order, observe in reply upon what was not declared by us to be a part of the charges we meant to insist upon; we proceed to another business.

We have already stated to your Lordships, and we beg to remind you of it—the state and condition of the country of Oude, when Mr. Hastings first came to it; his subsequent and immediate usurpation of all the powers of government, and the use he made of them; the tyranny he exercised over the Nabob himself, the tyranny he exercised upon his mother and grandmother, and all the other females of his family and their dependants of every description to the number of about 800 persons; the tyranny exercised (though we are not at liberty to press it now) upon his brethren. We have shewn you how he confiscated the property of all the jaghirdars, the nobility of the country; we have proved to your Lordships, that he was well acquainted with all the misery and distress occasioned by these proceedings, and that he afforded the sufferers no relief. We now proceed to review the effect of this general mass of usurpation, tyranny, and oppression, upon the revenues and the prosperity of the country.

Your Lordships will first be pleased to advert to the state in which Mr. Hastings found the country;—

country;—in what state he found its revenues—who were the executive ministers of the government; what their conduct was, and by whom they were recommended and supported. For the evidence of these facts, we refer your Lordships to your printed minutes—there, my Lords, they stand recorded; they never can be expunged out of your record, and the memory of mankind; whether we be permitted to press them at this time upon your Lordships, or not. Your Lordships will there find, in what manner the government was carried on in Oude in 1775, before the period of Mr. Hastings's usurpation; Mr. Hastings you will find has himself there stated, that the minister was recommended by the Begums; and you will remark this, because Mr. Hastings afterwards makes her interference in the government of her son, a part of his crimination of the Begums.

The Resident at the Court of Oude, thus writes on the 2d of March 1775:—"Notwithstanding the confidence the Nabob reposes in "Murteza Khan, the Begums are much dissatisfied with his elevation.—They recommended to his Excellency to encourage the old "servants of the government, whose influence "in the country, and experience, might have "strengthened his own authority, and seated him

" him firmly on the Musnud; in some measure,
" this too may appear consistent with the inte-
" rests of the Company, for as Elija Khan and
" the old ministers have, by frequent instances
" within their own knowledge, experienced the
" power of our government, such men I should
" conceive are much more likely to pay defe-
" rence to the Company, than a person who at
" present can have but a very imperfect idea of
" the degree of attention which ought to be paid
" to our connexion with the Nabob." Your Lordships see that the Begums recommended the old servants, contrary to the maxims of Rehoboam,—those who had served his father and had served the country; and who were strongly inclined to support the English interest there. Your Lordships will remark the effects of the Begum's influence upon the state of things in 1775, that the Nabob had been advised by his mother to employ the confidential servants of his father; persons conversant in the affairs of the country, persons interested in it, and persons who were well disposed to support the English connexion. Your Lordships will now attend to a letter from Mr. Bristow, at Lucknow, to the Board, dated 28th November 1775: —" I also neglected no part of my duty on the
" spot; but advised the minister, even at Luck-
" now, according to my letter of the third in-

" stant,

" stant, to recommend it to the Nabob, to dis-
" miss his useless and mutinous troops, which
" measure seems, by present appearances, to
" have succeeded beyond expectation; as the
" rest of the army do now pay the greatest
" attention to his Excellency's orders; already
" the complaints of the violences the troops
" used to commit, are greatly decreased; they
" profess obedience, and by the best intelligence
" I can obtain of their disposition, there seems
" to be little doubt that the examples made by
" disbanding Bussunt's corps has every good
" effect we could wish, which had crossed the
" river and voluntarily surrendered their arms
" the day before yesterday to the Nabob."

His next letter is dated 13th June 1776:—
" Honourable Sir and Sirs,—It is Elija Khan's
" first object to regulate the Vizier's revenue,
" and I must do him the justice to say, that the
" short time he has been in office he has been
" indefatigable, and already settled the greater
" part of the province of Oude, and fixed on the
" districts for the assignments of the army sub-
" sidy; Corah and Allahabad he has disposed
" of, and called for the Dooab and Rohilehund
" accounts, in order to adjust them as soon as
" possible. This activity will, I hope, produce
" the most salutary effects, as the present junc-

ture

" ture being the commencement of the season
" for the cultivation. The Aumils, by being
" thus early placed in their offices, have the
" opportunity of advancing Tuckovy, encou-
" raging the Ryots, and making their agree-
" ments in their several districts, in letting
" under farms, or disposing of the lands in such
" a manner as they may judge most expedient.
" If, though similar to the late minister's con-
" duct, a delay of two or three months should
" occur in the settlement of the lands, the peo-
" ple throughout the country would be dis-
" heartened, and inevitably a very heavy ba-
" lance accrue on the revenue. I have troubled
" the honourable Board with this detail, in the
" first place, to shew the propriety of Elija
" Khan's conduct; and in the next, the essen-
" tial service that will be rendered to the Vizier,
" by continuing Colonel Parker's detachment
" during the whole rains in Corah, if required
" by the Vizier."

My Lords, you have now had a view of the state of Oude, previous to the first period of our connexion with it. Your Lordships have seen, and understand that part of the middle period, with which we do not mean to trouble you again. You will now be pleased to attend to a letter from Fyzoola Khan, to the Governour

General, received the 13th of February 1778: "This country of Cuttah, which formerly depended on the Rohilla States, and which I consider as now appertaining to the Company, was very populous and flourishing, but since the commencement of the Nabob Vizier's government, the farmers appointed by his ministers have desolated the country. Its situation is at present very ruinous; thousands of villages, formerly populous, are now utterly deserted, and no trace left of them. I have already written to Roy Buckstowr Sing, a full account of the tyranny and oppression exercised by the farmers, to be communicated to you; the constant revenue of a country depends on the care of its rulers, to preserve it in a flourishing state. I have been induced to make the representation by my attachment to the interest of the Company, for otherwise it is no concern of mine. Should these oppressions continue one or two years longer, and the rulers take no measures to put a stop to them, the whole country will be a desert."

My Lords, upon these statements, I have only to make this remark, that you have seen the first state of this country; and that the period when it had fallen into the state last described was about two years after Mr. Hastings had

had obtained the majority in the Council, and began to govern this country by his lieutenants. We know that the country was put by him under military collectors; you see the consequences. The person who makes this representation to Mr. Hastings, of the state of the country, of its distress and calamity, and of the desolation of a thousand of the villages formerly flourishing in it, is no less a person than a prince of a neighbouring country, a person of whom you have often heard, and to whom the cause of humanity is much indebted, namely, Fyzoola Khan. A prince, whose country the English Resident, travelling through, declares to be cultivated like a garden. That this was the state of the Rohilla country, is owing to its having very fortunately been one of those that escaped the dominion of Mr. Hastings.

We will now read to your Lordships a letter from Sir Eyre Coote to the Board at Calcutta, dated the 11th of September 1779:—"Honour-
"able Sir and Sirs,—The day before yesterday
"I encamped near Allahabad, where the Vizier
"did me the honour of a visit; and yesterday
"morning, in my way hither, I returned it, and
"was received by his Excellency with every
"mark of respect and distinction. This morn-
"ing he called here, and we had some general

"conversation, which principally turned upon "the subject of his attachment to the English, "and his readiness to shew the sincerity of it, "upon all occasions. It is to be wished we "had employed the influence which such fa- "vourable sentiments must have given us more "to the benefit of the country and ourselves; "but I fear the distresses which evidently ap- "pear on the face of the one, and the failure "of the revenues to the other, are not be "wholly ascribed to the Vizier's mismanage- "ment."—This is the testimony of Mr. Hastings's own pensioner Sir Eyre Coote, respecting the known state of the country during the time of this horrible usurpation, which Sir Eyre Coote mentions under the soft name of our influence. But there could be but one voice upon the subject, and that your Lordships shall now hear from Mr. Hastings himself. We refer your Lordships to the Minute of the Governour General's consultation, Fort William, 21st May 1781:—He is here giving his reasons for going into the upper provinces.

"The province of Oude having fallen into a "state of great disorder and confusion, its re- "sources being in an extraordinary degree "diminished, and the Nabob Azoph ul Dowlah "having earnestly intreated the presence of the

"Governour

"Governour General, and declared, that unless "some effectual measures are taken for his re- "lief, he must be under the necessity of leaving "his country, and coming down to Calcutta, to "present his situation to this government. The "Governour General therefore proposes, with "the concurrence of Mr. Wheler, to visit the "province of Oude, as speedily as the affairs of "the Presidency will admit, in hopes that from "a minute and personal observation of the cir- "cumstances of that country, the system of "management which has been adopted, and the "characters and conduct of the persons employed, "he may possibly be able to concert and esta- "blish some plan by which the province of Oude "may in time be restored to its former state of "affluence, good order, and prosperity."

Your Lordships have now the whole chain of the evidence complete, with regard to the state of the country up to the period of Mr. Hastings's journey into the country. You see, that Mr. Hastings himself admits it to have been formerly in a most flourishing, orderly, and prosperous state. Its condition in 1781, he describes to you in words, than which no enemy of his can use stronger, in order to paint the state in which it then was. In this state he found it when he went up in the year 1781, and he left it with

regard to any substantial regulation that was executed or could be executed, in the state in which he found it; after having increased every one of those grievances which he pretended to redress, and taken from it all the little resources that remained in it.

We now come to a subsequent period, at which time the state of the country is thus described by Mr. Bristow on the 12th December 1782:—
" Despotism is the principle upon which every
" measure is founded, and the people in the in-
" terior parts of the country are ruled at the
" discretion of the Aumil or Fouzdar for the
" time being; they exercise, within the limits of
" their jurisdiction, the powers of life and death,
" and decisions in civil and other cases, in the
" same extent as the sovereign at the capital.
" The forms presented by the ancient institu-
" tions of the Mogul empire are unattended to,
" and the will of the provincial magistrate is the
" sole law of the people; the total relaxation of
" the Vizier's authority, his inattention and dis-
" like to business, leave the Aumils in possession
" of this dangerous power, unawed and uncon-
" trolled by any opposition of retrospection, or
" the interference of justice. I can hardly
" quote an instance, since the Vizier's accession
" to the Musnud, of an Aumil having been pu-
" nished for oppression, though the complaints

" of the people and the state of the country, are " notorious proofs of the violences daily com- " mitted; it is even become unsafe for travel- " lers to pass, except in large bodies—murders, " thefts and other enormities shocking to hu- " manity are committed in open day."

In another paragraph of the same letter, he says, " Such has been the system of this govern- " ment, that the oppressions have generally " originated with the Aumils; they have been " rarely selected for their abilities or integrity, " but from favour, or the means to advance a " large sum: upon being appointed to their " office, the Aumil enters upon his trust, ruined " in reputation and fortune, and unless he ac- " complishes his engagements, which is seldom " the case, disgrace and punishment follow, and " though the balance of revenue may be vigor- " ously demanded of him, it has not been usual " to institute any inquiry for oppression; the " Zemindars thus left at the mercy of the Aumils " are often driven to rebellion—the weak are " obliged to submit to his exactions or fly the " country, and the Aumil, unable to reduce the " more powerful, is compelled to enter into a " disgraceful compromise; every Zemindar looks " to his fort for protection, and the country is

" crowded with them ; Almas Ali Khan has not
" less than seven hundred in his districts ; thus
" it has become a general custom to seize the
" brother, son, or some near relation or depend-
" ent of the different Zemindars, as hostages for
" the security of the revenue ; a great Aumil
" will sometimes have three or four hundred of
" these hostages, whom he is obliged to confine
" in places of security—a few men like Almas
" Ali Khan and Coja Din ul Dun have, from
" their regularity in performance of pecuniary
" engagements, rendered themselves useful to
" the Vizier. A strict scrutiny into his affairs
" was at all times irksome to his Excellency,
" and none of his ministers or officers about his
" person possessing the active persevering spirit
" requisite to conduct the detail of engagements
" for a number of small farms, it became conve-
" nient to receive a large sum from a great
" farmer without trouble or deficiency ; this
" system was followed by the most pernicious
" consequences, these men were above all con-
" trol, they exacted their own terms, and
" the districts they farmed were most cruelly
" oppressed ; the revenue of Rohilcund is re-
" duced above a third, and Almas Ali Khan's
" administration is well known to have been
" extremely violent."

We

We will next read to your Lordships an extract from Captain Edwards's evidence:—*Q.* "Had you any opportunity of observing the general face of the country in the time of Sujah Dowlah?—*A.* I had. *Q.* Did you remark any difference in the general state of the country at that time, and the period when you made your latter observation; did you observe any difference between the condition of the country at that time and that of Sujah Dowlah in the year 1774, the latter period you have mentioned?—*A.* I did; a very material difference. *Q.* In what respect?—*A.* In the general aspect that the country bore and the cultivation of the country, that it was infinitely better cultivated in 1774 than it was in 1783. *Q.* You said you had no opportunity of observing the face of the country till you was appointed aid-de-camp to the Nabob?—*A.* No; except by marching and countermarching; I marched in the year 1774 through the Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah's provinces into Rohilcund. *Q.* Had you those opportunities from the time of your going there in 1774?—*A.* I had; but not so much as I had after being appointed aid-de-camp to the Vizier, because I was always before in a subordinate situation, I marched in a direct line before, with the troops; but afterwards, when I was aid-de-camp to his Excellency, I was my own master and made frequent excursions into the different

parts

parts of the country. *Q.* Had you an opportunity of observing the difference in the general happiness and disposition of the people?—*A.* I had. *Q.* Did you observe a difference in that respect also, between your first coming and the year 1783?—*A.* Yes, a very sensible difference; in Sujah ul Dowlah's time the country was in a very flourishing state, in merchandise, cultivation, and every article of commerce, and the people then seemed to be very happy under his government, which latterly was not the case, because the country in reality appeared in the year 1774 in a flourishing state, and in the year 1783 it appeared comparatively forlorn and desolate. *Q.* Was the court of Azoph ul Dowlah, when you left India, equal in point of splendour to what it was in the time of Sujah ul Dowlah?—*A.* By no means; it was not equally splendid, but far inferior. *Q.* Were the dependents and officers belonging to the court paid in the same punctual manner?—*A.* No; I really cannot say whether they were paid more regularly in Sujah Dowlah's time, only they appeared more wealthy and more able to live in a splendid style in his time than they ever have done since his death."

Here then your Lordships see the state of the country in 1783. Your Lordships may trace the whole progress of these evils step by step from the

the death of Sujah ul Dowlah to the time of Mr. Hastings's obtaining a majority in the Council; after which he possessed the sole and uncontrouled management of the country; you have seen also the consequences that immediately followed till the year 1784, when he went up a second time into the country.

I do not know, my Lords, that it is necessary to make any observation upon this state of things. You see that the native authority was, as we have proved, utterly extinguished by Mr. Hastings—and that there was no superintendent power but his. You have heard of the oppressions of the farmers of the revenues—and we have shewn you, that these farmers generally were English officers. We have shewn you in what manner Colonel Hannay, one of these farmers sent by Mr. Hastings acted, and particularly the accumulation of hostages which were made by him. We have shewn you, that by their arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings, all regular government was subverted, and that the country experienced the last and most dreadful effects of anarchy. We have shewn you, that no other security was left to any human being, but to entrench themselves in such forts as they could make, and that these forts, in one district only of the country, had increased in number to the amount of seven hundred. Your Lordships also know, that when the

the prisons and mud forts, in which Colonel Hannay kept his hostages confined, were full; he kept them in uncovered cages in the open air. You know, that all these farmers of revenue were either English and military men, or natives under an abject submission to them; you know, that they had the whole country in assignments; that the jaghires were all confiscated for their benefits; and you find that the whole system had its origin at the time when Mr. Hastings alone formed in effect the authority of the Supreme Council. The weakness of the Nabob, as Sir Eyre Coote tells you, could not have been alone the cause of these evils, and that our influence over him, if not actually the cause of the utter ruin, desolation, and anarchy of that country, might have been successfully exerted in preventing.

When your Lordships shall proceed to judgment upon these accumulated wrongs, arising out of the usurped power of the Prisoner at your bar, and redressed by him in no one instance whatever, let not the usurpation itself of the Nabob's power be considered as a trivial matter. When any prince at the head of a great country is entirely stripped of every thing in his government, civil or military, by which his rank may be distinguished or his virtues exercised, he is in danger of becoming a mere animal, and of abandoning

doning himself wholly to sensual gratifications. Feeling no personal interest in the institutions or in the general welfare of the country, he suffers the former (and many wise and laudable institutions existed in the provinces of the Nabob, for their good order and government) to fall into disuse, and he leaves the country itself to persons in inferior situations, to be wasted and destroyed by them; you find that in Oude, the very appearance of justice had been banished out of it, and that every Aumil exercised an arbitrary power over the lives and fortunes of the people. My Lords, we have the proofs of all these facts in our hands; they are in your Lordships' Minutes; and though we can state nothing stronger than is stated in the papers themselves, yet we do not so far forget our duty as not to point out to your Lordships such observations as arise out of them.

To close the whole, your Lordships shall now hear read an extract from a most curious and extraordinary letter, sent by him to the Court of Directors, preparatory to his return to England. —"My only remaining fear is, that the Mem-"bers of the Council, seeing affairs through a "different medium from that through which I "view them, may be disposed, if not to counter-"act the system which I have formed, to with-

"hold

" hold from it their countenance and active
" support; while I myself remain it will be suf-
" ficient if they permit it to operate without
" interruption, and I almost hope in the event
" of a new administration of your affairs which
" shall confine itself to the same forbearance,
" and manifest no symptoms of intended inter-
" ference, the objects of my arrangements will
" be effectually attained—for I leave them in the
" charge of agents whose interests, ambition,
" and every prospect of life, are interwoven with
" with their success, and the hand of heaven has
" visibly blest the soil with every elementary
" source of progressive vegetation; but if a dif-
" ferent policy shall be adopted, if new agents
" are sent into the country and armed with au-
" thority for the purpose of vengeance or cor-
" ruption, to no other will they be applied. If
" new demands are raised on the Nabob Vizier,
" and accounts overcharged on one side with a
" wide latitude taken on the other to swell his
" debt beyond the means of payment; if politi-
" cal dangers are portended to ground on them
" the pleas of burthening his country with un-
" necessary defences and enormous subsidies, or
" if even abstaining from direct encroachment
" on the Nabob's rights, your government shall
" shew but a degree of personal kindness to the
" partizans

" partizans of the late usurpation, or by any " constructive indication of partiality and disaf- " fection, furnish ground for the expectation of " an approaching change of system, I am sorry " to say that all my labours will prove abortive; " for the slightest causes will be sufficient to " deject minds sore with the remembrance of " past conflicts, and to elevate those whose only " dependence is placed in the renewal of the " confusion which I have laboured with such " zeal to eradicate, and will of course debilitate " the authority which can alone insure future " success. I almost fear that this denunciation " of effects from causes so incompetent as " they will appear to those who have not had " the experience which I have had of the " quick sensibility which influences the habits " of men placed in a state of polity so loose, and " subject to the continual variations of capri- " cious and despotick authority, will be deemed " overcharged, or perhaps void of foundation: " nor, if they should come to pass, will it be " easy to trace them with any positive evidence " to their connection; yet it is my duty to ap- " prize you of what I apprehend, on grounds " which I deem of absolute certainty, may come " to pass; and I rely on your candour for a fair " interpretation of my intention." Here, my Lords, the Prisoner at your bar, has done exactly what

what his bitterest accuser would do—he goes through, head by head, every one of the measures which he had himself pursued in the destruction of the country; and he foretells that if any one of those measures should again be pursued, or even if good cause should be given to suspect they would be renewed, the country must fall into a state of inevitable destruction. This supersedes all observation. This paper is a recapitulated, minute condemnation of every step which he took in that country, and which steps are every one of them upon your Lordships' Minutes.

But, my Lords, we know very well the design of these pretended apprehensions; and why he wished to have that country left in the state he speaks of. He had left a secret agent of his own to control that ostensible government, and to enable him, sitting in the place where he now sits, to continue to govern those provinces in the way in which he now governs them. [A murmur having arisen here, Mr. Burke proceeded.] If I am called upon to re-word what I have just said, I shall repeat my words, and shew strong grounds and reasons to indicate that he governs Oude now as much as he ever did.

You see, my Lords, that the reform which he pretended to make in 1781, produced the calamities which he states to have existed in 1784.

We

We shall now shew, that the reform which he pretended to make in 1784, brought on the calamities which Lord Cornwallis states in his evidence to have existed in 1787.

We will now read two letters from Lord Cornwallis; the first is dated the 16th November 1787:—"I was received at Allahabad and attended to Lucknow by the Nabob and his ministers, with every mark of friendship and respect; I cannot, however, express how much I was concerned during my short residence at his capital, and my progress through his dominions, to be witness of the disordered state of his finances and government, and of the desolate appearances of his country; the evils were too alarming to admit of palliation, and I thought it my duty to exhort him, in the most friendly manner, to endeavour to apply effectual remedies to them; he began with urging as apology that whilst he was not certain of the expence of our demands upon him, he had no real interest in being economical in his expences, and that while we interfered in the internal management of his affairs, his own authority and that of his ministers were despised by his own subjects; it would have been useless to discuss these topicks with him; but while I repeated my former declarations of our being determined to give no ground in

"future for similar complaints, he gave me the "strongest assurances of his being resolved to "apply himself earnestly to the encouragement "of agriculture, and to endeavour to revive the "commerce of his country."

The second is dated the 25th April 1788:— "Till I saw the Vizier's troops, I was not without "hope that upon an emergency he would "have been able to have furnished us with some "useful cavalry; but I have no reason to believe that he has any in his service upon which "it would be prudent to place any dependence; "and I think it right to add, that his country "appears to be in so ruined a state, and his "finances in so much disorder, that even in case "of war we ought not to depend upon any material support from him."

My Lords, I have only to remark upon these letters that, so far as they go, they prove the effects of Mr. Hastings's reformation, from which he was pleased to promise the Company such great things. But when your Lordships know that he had left his dependent and minister Hyder Beg Khan there, whose character, as your Lordships will find by a reference to your minutes, he has represented as black as hell, to be the real governour there, and to carry on private

vate correspondence with him here;—and that he had left Major Palmer his private agent, for a considerable time in that country to carry on his affairs; your Lordships will easily see how it has come to pass that the Vizier, such a man as you have heard him described to be, was not alone able to restore prosperity to his country. My Lords, you have now seen what was the situation of the country in Sujah Dowlah's time, prior to Mr. Hastings's interference with the government of it; what it was during his government; and what situation it was in when Lord Cornwallis left it. Nothing now remains, but to call your Lordship's attention to perhaps the most extraordinary part of these transactions. But before we proceed we will beg leave to go back and read to your Lordships the Nabob's letters of the 24th February 1780:—"I have "received your letter, and understand the con- "tents. I cannot describe the solidity of your "friendship and brotherly affection which sub- "sisted between you and my late father; from "the friendship of the Company he received "numberless advantages; and I, notwithstand- "ing I was left an orphan, from your favour "and that of the Company, was perfectly at "ease, being satisfied that every thing would "be well, and that I should continue in the "same security that I was during my father's "life time, from your protection. I accordingly,

" from the day of his death, have never omitted
" to cultivate your favour, and the protection
" of the Company; and whatever was the de-
" sire and directions of the Council at that time,
" I have ever since conformed to, and obeyed
" with readiness. Thanks be given to God, that
" I have never as yet been backward in perform-
" ing the will of the English Company, of
" the Council, and of you; and have always
" been, from my heart, ready to obey them,
" and have never given you any trouble, from
" my difficulties or wishes. Thus I have done
" simply from my knowledge of your favour
" towards me, and from my being certain that
" you would learn the particulars of my dis-
" tresses and difficulties from other quarters,
" and would then shew your friendship and
" good-will, in whatever was for my advantage.
" But when the knife had penetrated to the
" bone, and I was surrounded with such heavy
" distresses that I could no longer live in expec-
" tations, I then wrote an account of my diffi-
" culties; the answer which I have received to
" it is such, that it has given me inexpressible
" grief and affliction. I never had the least idea
" or expectation from you, and the Council,
" that you would ever have given your orders
" in so afflicting a manner, in which you never
" before wrote, and which I could not have
" imagined. As I am resolved to obey the

" orders

" orders and directions of the Council, without
" any delay, as long as I live, I have, agreeably
" to those orders, delivered up all my private
" papers to him, that when he shall have exa-
" mined my receipts and expences, he may
" take whatever remains. As I know it to be
" my duty to satisfy you, the Company and
" Council, I have not failed to obey in any
" instance, but requested of him that it might
" be done so as not to distress me in my neces-
" sary expences, there being no other fund but
" those for the expences, of mutseddies, house-
" hold expences and servants, &c. He demanded
" these in such a manner, that being remediless,
" I was obliged to comply with what he required.
" He has accordingly stopped the pensions of
" my old servants of thirty years, whether se-
" poys, mutseddies, or household servants; and
" the expenses of my family and kitchen,
" together with the jaghires of my grandmother,
" mother and aunts, and of my brothers and
" dependents, which were for their support.
" I had raised 1,500 horse, and three battalions
" of sepoys to attend upon me; but as I have
" no resources to support them, I have been
" obliged to remove the people stationed in the
" Mahals, and to send his people into the
" Mahals, so that I have not now one single
" servant about me. Should I mention what

" further difficulties I have been reduced to, it " it would lay me open to contempt; although " I have willingly assented to this which brings " such distress on me, and have in a manner " altogether ruined myself; yet I failed not to " do it for this reason, because it was for your " satisfaction, and that of the Council; and I " am patient, and even thankful in this condi- " tion, but I cannot imagine for what cause you " have conceived displeasure against me, from " the commencement of my administration. In " every circumstance, I received strength and " security from your favour, and that of the " Council; and in every instance you and the " Council have shewn your friendship and " affection for me; but at present, that you have " sent these orders, I am greatly perplexed."

We will not trouble your Lordships with the remainder of the letter, which is all in the same style of distress and affliction; and of the abject dependence of a man who considers himself as insulted, robbed, and ruined in that state of dependence.

In addition to the evidence contained in this letter, your Lordships will be pleased to recollect the Nabob's letter which we read to your Lordships yesterday, the humble and abject style of which, you will never forget. Oh! consider,

sider, my Lords, this instance of the fate of human greatness! You must remember, that there is not a trace any where in any of the various trunks of Mr. Hastings, that he ever condescended so much as to give an answer to the suppliant letters of that unhappy man. There was no mode of indignity with which he did not treat his family—there was no mode of indignity with which he did not treat his person—there was no mode of indignity with which he did not treat his minister Hyder Beg Khan;—this man whom he represents to be the most infamous and scandalous of mankind; and of whom he, nevertheless, at the same time, declares, that his only support with the Vizier, was the support which he, Warren Hastings, as representative of the English government, gave him.

We will now read a paper which, perhaps, ought not to have been received in evidence; but which we were willing to enter in your Minutes as evidence, in order that every thing should come before you. Your Lordships have heard the Nabob speak of his misery, distress, and oppression; but here he makes a complete defeasance as it were of the whole charge, a direct disavowal of every one of the complaints, and particularly that of having never received an answer to these complaints. Oh! think, I say, my Lords, of the degraded, miserable and

unhappy state to which human nature may be reduced, when you hear this unhappy man declare, that all the charges which we have made upon this subject relative to him, and which are all either admitted by him, or taken from his own representation, are now stated by him in a paper before you to be all false, and that there is not a word of the representation which he had made of Mr. Hastings, that has the least truth in it. Your Lordships will find this in that collection of various papers, which ought to be preserved and put into every museum in Europe, as one of the most extraordinary productions that was ever exhibited to the world.

Papers received the 8th of March 1788, and translated pursuant to an order of the Governour General in Council, dated the 27th of April 1788, under the seal of his Excellency the Nawaub Azoph ul Dowlah, Azoph Jeh Behodar, Vizier ul Momilek:—"I have at this time learnt "that the gentlemen in power in England, upon "the suspicion that Mr. Hastings, during his "administration, acted contrary to the rules "of justice and impartiality, and, actuated by "motives of avidity, was inimical towards men "without cause; that he broke such engage-"ments and treaties as has been made between "the Company and other chiefs; that he ex-

tended

" tended the hand of oppression over the pro-
" perties of men; tore up the roots of prospe-
" rity and security from the land, and rendered
" the ryots and subjects destitute, by force and
" extortion. As this accusation, in fact, is de-
" stitute of uprightness, and void of truth,
" therefore with a view to shew the truth in its
" true colours, I have written upon this sheet
" with truth and sincerity, to serve as an evi-
" dence, and to represent real facts; to serve
" also as information and communication, that
" Mr. Hastings, from the commencement of his
" administration, until his departure for England,
" whether during the life-time of the deceased
" Nawoub, of blessed memory, Vizier ul Moulk,
" Sujah ul Dowlah Rehodar, my father, or du-
" ring my government, did not at any time
" transact, contrary to justice, any matter which
" took place from the great friendship between
" me and the Company, nor in any business
" depart from the path of truth and upright-
" ness; but cultivated friendship, with integrity
" and sincerity, and in every respect engaged
" himself in the duties of friendship, with me,
" my ministers, and confidants. I am at all
" times, and in every way, pleased with and
" thankful for his friendly manners, and qua-
" lities; and my ministers and confidants, who
" have always every one of them been satisfied

" with

"with his conduct, are for ever grateful for his "friendship, and thankful for his virtues. As "these matters are real facts, and according to "truth, I have written these lines as an evi-"dence, and transmit the paper to England "through the government of Calcutta, for the "information of the gentlemen of power and "rank in England."

Observe, my Lords, the candour of the Commons—we produce this evidence, which accuses us as Mr. Hastings does, of uttering every thing that is false—we choose to bring our shame before the world, and to admit that this man, on whose behalf, and on the behalf of whose country we have accused Mr. Hastings, has declared, that this accusation (namely this Impeachment,) is destitute of uprightness and without truth. But my Lords, this is not only a direct contradiction to all he has ever said—to all that has been proved to you by us; but a direct contradiction to all the representations of Mr. Hastings himself. Your Lordships will hence see, what credit is to be given to these papers.

Your Lordships shall now hear what Hyder Beg Khan says; that Hyder Beg Khan who stands recorded in your Minutes as the worst of mankind; who is represented as writing letters without the Nabob's consent, and in defiance of

him;

him;—the man of whom Mr. Hastings says, that the Nabob is nothing but a tool in his hands, and that the Nabob is, and ever must be, a tool of somebody or other. Now as we have heard the tool speak, let us hear how the workman employed to work with this tool speaks:—Extract from Hyder Beg Khan's Letter to the Governour and Council. "It is at this time "learnt by the Nawaub Vizier and us his mi-"nisters, that gentlemen of power in England "are displeased with Mr. Hastings, on the sus-"picion that during his administration in this "country, from motives of avidity, he committed "oppressions contrary to the rules of justice, "took the properties of men by deceit and force, "injured the ryots and subjects, and rendered "the country destitute and ruined.—As the true "and upright disposition of Mr. Hastings is in "every respect free of this suspicion, we there-"fore with truth and sincerity declare by these "lines, written according to fact, that Mr. Has-"tings, from the first of his appointment to the "government of this country, until his depar-"ture for Europe, during his authority in the "management of the affairs of the country, "whether in the life-time of the Nawaub Sujah "ul Dowlah Behadre deceased, or whether "during the present reign, did not, in any "matters which took place from the great "friendship between this Government and the "Company,

" Company, act in anywise upon motive of " avidity, and not having, in any respect, other " than justice and propriety in intention, did " not swerve from their rules, he kept his Ex- " cellency the Vizier always pleased and satis- " fied;" (you will remember, my Lords, the last expressions of his pleasure and satisfaction), " by his friendship and attention in every " matter. He at all times shewed favour and " kindness towards the ministers of this govern- " ment, and under his protection having en- " joyed perfect happiness and comfort, we are " from our hearts satisfied with, and grateful " for his benevolence and goodness."

Here, my Lords, you have the character which Hyder Beg Khan gives of Mr. Hastings; of the man who he knew had loaded him, as he had done, with every kind of indignity, reproach, and outrage, with which a man can be loaded. Your Lordships will see, that this testimony repeats, almost word for word, the testimony of the Vizier Nabob, which shews who the real writer is.

My Lords, it is said that there is no word in the Persian language to express gratitude. With these signal instances of gratitude before us, I think we may venture to put one into their dictionary; Mr. Hastings has said he has had the pleasure to find from the people of India, that

gratitude

gratitude which he has not met with from his own countrymen the House of Commons; certainly if he has done us services, we have been ungrateful indeed; if he has committed enormous crimes, we are just. Of the miserable, dependent situation to which these people are reduced, that they are not ashamed to come forward and deny every thing they have given under their own hand; all these things shew the portentous nature of this government, they shew the portentous nature of that phalanx with which the House of Commons is at present at war; the power of that Captain General of every species of Indian iniquity, which, under him, is embodied, arrayed, and paid, from Leadenhall-street to the furthermost part of India. We have but one observation more to offer upon this collection of Rayzunumas upon these miserable testimonials given by these wretched people in contradiction to all their own previous representations; directly in contradiction to those of Mr. Hastings himself; directly in contradiction to those of Lord Cornwallis; directly in contradiction to truth itself. It is this. Here is Mr. Hastings with his agents, canvassing the country, with all that minuteness with which a county is canvassed at an election; and yet in this whole book of Rayzunumas not one fact adduced by us is attempted to be disproved, not one fact upon

upon which Mr. Hastings's defence can be founded is attempted to be proved. There is nothing but bare vile panegyricks, directly belied by the state of facts, directly belied by the persons themselves; directly belied by Mr. Hastings at your bar; and by all the whole course of the correspondence of the country.

We here leave to your Lordships' judgment, the consideration of the elevated rank of the persons aggrieved and degraded to the lowest state of dependence and actual distress; the consideration of the condition of the country gentlemen, who were obliged to hide their heads, wherever they could, from the plunderers and robbers established under his authority in every part of the country; and that of the miserable common people who have been obliged to sell their children through want of food to feed them; the consideration I say of the manner in which this country, in the highest, in the middle, and in the lowest classes of its inhabitants, nay in physical works of God, was desolated and destroyed by this man. Having now done with the province of Oude, we will proceed to the province of Bengal, and consider what was the kind of government which he exercised there, and in what manner it affected the people that were subjected to it.

Bengal, like every part of India subject to the British

British empire, contains (as I have already had occasion to mention) three distinct classes of people, forming three distinct social systems. The first is the Mahometans; which, about seven hundred years ago, obtained a footing in that country, and ever since has in a great degree retained its authority there. For the Mahometans had settled there long before the foundation of the Bengal empire, which was overturned by Tamerlane: So that this people, who are represented sometimes loosely as strangers, are people of ancient and considerable settlement in that country; and though like Mahometan settlers in many other countries, they have fallen into decay, yet, being continually recruited from various parts of Tartary under the Mogul empire, and from various parts of Persia, they continue to be the leading and most powerful people throughout the Peninsula; and so we found them there. These people, for the most part, follow no trades or occupation, their religion and laws forbidding them in the strictest manner to take usury or profit arising from money that is in any way lent; they have therefore no other means for their support, but what arises from their adherence to, and connexion with, the Mogul governments and its Viceroys. They enjoy under them various offices civil and military, various employments in the courts of law,

and

and stations in the army. Accordingly a prodigious number of people, almost all of them persons of the most ancient and respectable families in the country, are dependent upon and cling to the Subodars or Viceroys of the several provinces. They therefore who oppress, plunder and destroy the Subodars, oppress, rob and destroy an immense mass of people. It is true that a supervening government, established upon another, always reduces a certain portion of the dependents upon the latter to want. You must distress, by the very nature of the circumstances of the case, a great number of people; but then it is your business, when by the superiority which you have acquired, however you may have acquired it, (for I am not now considering whether you have acquired it by fraud or force, or whether by a mixture of both;) when I say you have acquired it, it is your business not to oppress those people with new and additional difficulties, but rather to console them in the state to which they are reduced, and to give them all the assistance and protection in your power.

The next system is composed of the descendants of the people who were found in the country by the Mahomedan invaders. The system before mentioned comprehends the official interest, the judicial interest, the court interest, and the military interest. This latter body includes almost the

the whole landed interest, commercial interest, and monied interest of the country. For the Hindoos not being forbidden by their laws or religious tenets as laid down in the Shaster—many of them became the principal money lenders and bankers; and thus the Hindoos form the greatest part both of the landed and monied interest in that country.

The third and last system is formed of the English interest; which in reality, whether it appears directly or indirectly, is the governing interest of the whole country; of its civil and military interest, of its landed, monied, and revenue interest; and what to us is the greatest concern of all, it is this system which is responsible for the government of that country to the government of Great Britain. It is divided into two parts, one emanating from the Company, and afterwards regulated by Act of Parliament; the other a judicial body sent out by, and acting under the authority of the Crown itself. The persons composing that interest are those whom we usually call the servants of the Company. They enter into that service, as your Lordships know, at an early period of life, and they are promoted accordingly as their merit or their interest may provide for them. This body of men, with respect to its number, is so small as scarcely to deserve mentioning; but from certain

circumstances, the government of the whole country is fallen into their hands. Amongst these circumstances the most important and essential are, their having the publick revenues and the publick purse entirely in their own hands, and their having an army maintained by that purse, and disciplined in the European manner. Such was the state of that country when Mr. Hastings was appointed governour in 1772. Your Lordships are now to decide upon the manner in which he has comported himself with regard to all these three interests; first, whether he has made the ancient Mahometan families as easy as he could; secondly, whether he has made the Hindoo inhabitants, the Zemindars and their tenants, as secure in their property and as easy in their tenure as he could; and lastly, whether he has made the English interest a blessing to the country; and whilst it provided moderate, safe, and proper emoluments to the persons that were concerned in it—it kept them from oppression and rapine, and a general waste and ravage of the country; whether in short, he made all these three interests pursue that one object, which all interests and all governments ought to pursue, the advantage and welfare of the people under them.

My Lords, in support of our charge against the Prisoner at your bar, that he acted in a manner directly the reverse of this: We have proved

to you that his first acts of oppression were directed against the Mahometan government; that government which had been before, not only in name, but in effect to the very time of his appointment, the real government of the country. After the Company had acquired its right over it, some shadow still remained of the ancient government. An allowance was settled for the Nabob of Bengal, to support the dignity of his court, which amounted to between four and five hundred thousand pounds a year. In this was comprehended the support of the whole mass of nobility; the soldiers, serving or retired; all the officers of the court; and all the women that were dependent upon them; the whole of the criminal jurisdiction of the country, and a very considerable part of the civil law and the civil government. These establishments formed the constitutional basis of their political government.

The Company never had, and it is a thing that we can never too often repeat to your Lordships, the Company never had of right despotick power in that country, to overturn any of these establishments. The Mogul, who gave them their charters, could not give them such a power, he did not *de facto* give them such a power—the government of this country did not by Act of Parliament, and the Company did not and could

not by their delegation give him such a power; the Act by which he was appointed governour, did not give him such a power, If he exercised it, he usurped it; and therefore every step we take in the examination of his conduct in Bengal, as in every step we take upon the same subject every where else, we look for the justification of his conduct to laws; the law of nations, the laws of this country, and the laws of the country he was sent to govern.

The government of that country, by the ancient constitution of the Mogul empire (besides the numberless individual checks and counterchecks in the inferior officers) is divided into the Viceroyal part and the Subadarry part. The Viceroyal part takes in all criminal justice and political government. Mr. Hastings found the country under a viceroy, governing according to law, acting by proper judges and magistrates under him;—he himself not being the judicial but executive power of the country; that which sets the other in action and does not supersede it or supply its place. The other, the Subadarry power, which was by the grant of the Dewanny, conferred upon the Company, had under its care the revenues, as much of the civil government as is concerned with the revenues, and many other matters growing out of it. These two offices are co-ordinate and dependent on each other.

other. The Company, after contracting to maintain the army out of it, got the whole revenue into their power. The army being thus within their power, the Subadar by degrees vanished into an empty name.

When we thus undertook the government of the country, conscious that we had undertaken a task which by any personal exertion of our own we were unable to perform in any proper or rational way, the Company appointed a native of the country, Mahomed Reza Khan, who stands upon the records of the Company, I venture to say, with such a character, as no man perhaps ever did stand, to execute the duties of both offices. Upon the expulsion of Cossim Ali Khan, the Nabob of Bengal, all his children were left in a young, feeble, and unprotected state; and in that state of things, Lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, who sits near Mr. Hastings, and the rest of the Council, wisely appointed Mahomed Reza Khan, to fulfil the two offices of deputy Viceroy and deputy Dewan, for which he had immense allowances, and great jaghires and revenues, I allow. He was a man of that dignity, rank, and consideration, added to his knowledge of law and experience in business, that Lord Clive and Mr. Sumner, who examined strictly his conduct at that time, did not think that 112,000*l.* a year, the amount of the emoluments which had

been allowed him, was a great deal too much: but at his own desire, and in order that these emoluments might be brought to stated and fixed sums, they reduced it to 90,000*l.*; an allowance which they thought was not more than sufficient to preserve the state of so great a magistrate, and a man of such rank, exercising such great employments. The whole revenue of the Company depended upon his talents and fidelity; and you will find, that on the day in which he surrendered the revenues into our hands, the Dewanny, under his management, was a million more than it produced on the day Mr. Hastings left it. For the truth of this, I refer your Lordships to a letter of the Company sent to the Board of Controul. This letter is not in evidence before your Lordships, and what I am stating is merely historical. But I state the fact, and with the power of referring for their proof, to documents as authentick as if they were absolutely in evidence before you. Assuming, therefore, that all these facts may be verified by the records of the Company, I have now to state that this man, by some rumours true or false, was supposed to have misconducted himself in a time of great calamity in that country. A great famine had about this time grievously afflicted the whole province of Bengal. I must remark by the way, that these countries

are

are liable to this calamity, but it is greatly blessed by nature with resources which afford the means of speedy recovery, if their government does not counteract them. Nature, that inflicts the calamity, soon heals the wound; it is in ordinary seasons the most fertile country, inhabited by the most industrious people, and the most disposed to marriage and settlement, probably that exists in the whole world; so that population and fertility are soon restored, and the inhabitants quickly resume their former industrious occupations.

During the agitation excited in the country by the calamity I have just mentioned, Mahomed Reza Khan, through the intrigues of Rajah Nundcomar, one of his political rivals, and of some English faction that supported him, was accused of being one of the causes of the famine. In answer to this charge, he alleged what was certainly a sufficient justification—that he had acted under the direction of the English Board, to which his conduct throughout this business was fully known. The Company however sent an order from England to have him tried; but though he frequently supplicated the government at Calcutta, that his trial should be proceeded in, in order that he might be either acquitted and discharged, or condemned, Mr. Hastings kept him in prison two years, under pretence, (as he wrote

wrote word to the Directors,) that Mahomed Reza Khan himself was not very desirous to hasten the matter. In the mean time the Court of Directors having removed him from his great offices, authorized and commanded Mr. Hastings (and here we come within the sphere of your Minutes) to appoint a successor to Mahomed Reza Khan, fit to fulfil the duties of his station. Now I shall first shew your Lordships what sort of person the Court of Directors described to him as most fit to fill the office of Mahomed Reza Khan; what sort of person he did appoint; and then we will trace out to you the consequences of that appointment.

Letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Fort William, dated 28th August 1771:—"Though we have not "a doubt but that by the exertion of your abili- "ties and the care and assiduity of our servants "in the superintendancy of the revenues, the "collections will be conducted with more ad- "advantage to the Company and ease to the "natives, than by means of a Naib Dewan; we "are fully sensible of the expediency of sup- "porting some ostensible minister in the Com- "pany's interest at the Nabob's court, to tran- "sact the political affairs of the Sircar, and "interpose between the Company and the sub-

jects

" jects of any European power, in all cases " wherein they may thwart our interest, or " encroach on our authority; and as Mahomed " Reza Khan can no longer be considered by " us as one to whom such a power can be safely " committed, we trust to your local knowledge " the selection of some person well qualified " for the affairs of government, and of whose " attachment to the Company you shall be well " assured; such person you will recommend to " the Nabob to succeed Mahomed Reza as " minister of the government, and guardian of " the Nabob's minority; and we persuade our- " selves that the Nabob will pay such regard to " your recommendation, as to invest him with " the necessary power and authority.

" As the advantages which the Company " may receive from the appointment of such " minister, will depend on his readiness to pro- " mote our views and advance our interest; we " are willing to allow him so liberal a gratifi- " cation as may excite his zeal and secure his " attachment to the Company; we therefore " empower you to grant to the person whom " you shall think worthy of this trust, an annual " allowance not exceeding three lacks of rupees, " (thirty thousand pounds,) which we consider " not only as a munificent reward for any ser- " vices he shall render the Company, but suf-

" ficient

" ficient to enable him to support his station " with suitable rank and dignity; and here " we must add, that in the choice you shall " make of a person to be the active minister of " the Nabob's government, we hope and trust " that you will shew yourselves worthy of the " confidence we have placed in you, by being " actuated therein by no other motives than " those of the publick good and the safety and " interest of the Company."

Here, my Lords, a person was to be named fit to fill the office and supply the place of Mahomed Reza Khan, who was Deputy Viceroy of Bengal, at the head of the criminal justice of the country, and in short at the head of the whole ostensible Mahometan government. He was also to supply the place of Mahomed Reza Khan as Naib Dewan, from which Reza Khan was to be removed: for you will observe the Directors always speak of a man fit to perform all the duties of Mahomed Reza Khan; and amongst these he was to be as the guardian of the Nabob's person, and the representative of his authority and government.

Mr. Hastings having received these orders from the Court of Directors did—what? He alleges in his defence, that no positive commands were given him; but a very sufficient description

description was given of the person who ought to succeed Mahomed Reza Khan, in whom the Company had before recognised all the necessary qualities; and they therefore desire him to name a similar person. But, what does Mr. Hastings do in consequence of this authority? He names no man at all. He searches into the seraglio of the Nabob, and names a woman to be the Viceroy of the province, to be the head of the ostensible government, to be the guardian of the Nabob's person, the conservator of his authority, and a proper representative of the remaining majesty of that government. Well, my Lords, he searched the seraglio. When you have to take into consideration the guardianship of a person of great dignity, there are two circumstances to be attended to; one a faithful and affectionte guardianship of his person; and the other a strong interest in his authority and the means of exercising that authority in a proper and competent manner.

Mr. Hastings, when he was looking for a woman in the seraglio (for he could find women only there,) must have found actually in authority there the Nabob's own mother; certainly a person who by nature was most fit to be his guardian; and there is no manner of doubt of her being sufficiently competent to that duty. Here then was a legitimate wife of the Nabob Jaffier Ali Khan

Khan, a woman of rank and distinction, fittest to take care of the person and interests, as far as a woman could take care of them, of her own son. In this situation, she had been placed before, during the administration of Mahomed Reza Khan, by the direct orders of the Governour Sir John Cartier. She had, I say, been put in possession of that trust, which it was natural and proper to give to such a woman. But what does Mr. Hastings do? He deposes this woman. He strips her of her authority with which he found her invested under the sanction of the English government. He finds out a woman in the seraglio called Munny Begum, who was bound to the Nabob by no tie whatever of natural affection. He makes this woman the guardian of the young Nabob's person. She had a son who had been placed upon the Musnud after the death of his father Sujah Dowlah, and had been appointed his guardian. This young Nabob died soon afterwards, and was succeeded by Nuzimut Dowlah, another natural son of Sujah Dowlah. This prince being left without a mother, this woman was suffered to retain the guardianship of the Nabob till his death. When Mobarick ul Dowlah, a legitimate son of Sujah Dowlah, succeeded him, Sir John Cartier did what his duty was, he put the Nabob's own mother into the place which she was naturally entitled to hold;

the

the guardianship of her own son, and displaced Munny Begum. The whole of the arrangement, by which Munny Begum was appointed guardian of the two preceding Nabobs, stands in the Company's records, stigmatized as a transaction base, wicked, and corrupt. We will read to your Lordships, an extract from a letter which has the signature of Mr. Sumner, the gentleman who sits here by the side of Mr. Hastings, and from which you will learn what the Company and the Council thought of the original nomination of Munny Begum and of her son. You will find that they considered her as a great agent, and instrument of all the corruption there; and that this whole transaction by which the bastard son of Munny Begum was brought forward to the prejudice of the legitimate son of the Nabob, was considered to be, what it upon the very face of it speaks itself to be, corrupt and scandalous.

Extract of a general letter from the President and Council at Calcutta Bengal, to the Select Committee of the Directors. Paragraph 5.—
" At Fort Saint George we received the first
" advices of the demise of Meer Jaffier, and of
" Sujah Dowlah's defeat, it was there firmly
" imagined that no definitive measures would
" be taken either with respect to a peace or
" filling

" filling the vacancy in the Nizamut before our " arrival, as the *Lapwing* arrived in the month " of January with your general letter, and the " appointment of a Committee with express " powers to that purpose, for the successful " exertion of which the happiest occasion now " offered; however, a contrary resolution pre- " vailed in the Council; the opportunity of " acquiring immense fortunes was too inviting " to be neglected, and the temptation too pow- " erful to be resisted; a treaty was hastily " drawn up by the Board, or rather transcribed " with few unimportant additions from that con- " cluded with Meer Jaffier, and a deputation " consisting of Messrs. Johnstone, senior, Mid- " dleton and Leycester, appointed to raise the " natural son of the deceased Nabob to the Suba- " darry, in prejudice of the claim of the grand- " son; and for this measure such reasons as- " signed as ought to have dictated a diametri- " cally opposite resolution. Miran's son was " a minor, which circumstance alone would " have naturally brought the whole administra- " tion into our hands at a juncture when it " became indispensably necessary we should " realize the shadow of power and influence, " which, having no solid foundation, was exposed " to the danger of being annihilated by the first " stroke of adverse fortune; but this inconsis-

" tence

" tence was not regarded, nor was it material
" to the views for precipitating the treaty, which
" was pressed on the young Nabob at the first
" interview, in so earnest and indelicate a man-
" ner as highly disgusted him and chagrined
" his ministers, while not a single rupee was sti-
" pulated for the Company, whose interests
" were sacrificed that their servants might revel
" in the spoils of a treasury, before impoverished,
" but now totally exhausted."

" 6.—This scene of corruption was first dis-
" closed at a visit the Nabob paid to Lord Clive
" and the gentlemen of the Committee a few
" days after our arrival; he there delivered to
" his Lordship a letter filled with bitter com-
" plaints of the insults and indignity he had
" been exposed to, and the embezzlement of
" near twenty lacks of rupees issued from his
" treasury for purposes unknown, during the
" late negotiations;—so public a complaint could
" not be disregarded, and it soon produced an
" inquiry. We referred the letter to the Board,
" in expectation of obtaining a satisfactory ac-
" count of the application of this money, and
" were answered only by a warm remonstrance
" entered by Mr. Leycester, against that very
" Nabob in whose elevation he boasts of having
" been a principal agent."

" 7.—Mahomed Reza Khan, the naib sou-

" bah

" bah, was then called upon to account for this " large disbursement from the treasury; and " he soon delivered to the Committee the very " extraordinary narrative entered in our pro- " ceedings, the 6th of June, wherein he specifies " the several names and sums, by whom paid, " and to whom, whether in cash, bills or obli- " gation; so precise, so accurate an account " as this of money for secret and venal services " was never, we believe, before this period ex- " hibited to the honourable Court of Directors, " at least never vouched by undeniable testi- " mony and authentick documents by Juggut " Seet, who himself was obliged to contribute " largely to the sums demanded by Moolyram, " who was employed by Mr. Johnstone in all " these pecuniary transactions by the Nabob " and Mahomet Reza Khan, who were the hea- " viest sufferers; and lastly by the confession " of the gentlemen themselves whose names " are specified in the distribution list."

" 8.—Juggut Seet expressly declared in his " narrative, that the sum which he agreed to " pay the deputation, amounting to 125,000 " rupees, was extorted by menaces; and since " the close of our inquiry, and the opinions we " delivered in the proceedings of the 21st of " June, it fully appears, that the presents from " the Nabob and Mahomed Rezah Khan, exceed-

" ing

" ing the immense sum of seventeen lacks, were
" not the voluntary offerings of gratitude, but
" contributions levied on the weakness of the
" government, and violently exacted from the
" dependent state and timid disposition of the
" minister. The charge, indeed, is denied on
" the one hand, as well as affirmed on the
" other. Your honourable Board must there-
" fore determine, how far the circumstance of
" extortion may aggravate the crime of disobe-
" dience to your positive orders; the exposing
" the government in a manner to sale, and
" receiving the infamous wages of corruption
" from opposite parties and contending interests.
" We speak with boldness, because we speak
" from conviction founded upon indubitable
" evidence, that besides the above sums speci-
" fied in the distribution account, to the amount
" of 228,125 pounds sterling, there was like-
" wise to the value of several lacks of rupees
" procured from Nundcomar and Roydullub,
" each of whom aspired at, and obtained a
" promise of that very employment it was pre-
" determined to bestow on Mahomed Reza Khan.
" —Signed at the end,—Clive, W^m B. Sumner,
" John Carnac, H. Verelst, Fra^s Sykes."

My Lords, the persons who sign this letter are mostly the friends, and one of them is the

gentleman who is bail for, and sits near Mr. Hastings. They state to you this horrible and venal transaction by which the government was set to sale, by which a bastard son was elevated to the wrong of the natural and legitimate heir; and in which a prostitute, his mother, was put in the place of the honourable and legitimate mother of the representative of the family.

Now if there was one thing more than another under heaven which Mr. Hastings ought to have shunned, it was the suspicion of being concerned in any such infamous transaction as that which is here recorded to be so—a transaction in which the country government had before been sold to this very woman and her offspring, and in which two great candidates for power in that country, fought against each other, and perhaps the largest offerer carried it.

When a governour general sees the traces of corruption in the conduct of his predecessors, the traces of injustice following that corruption, —the traces of notorious irregularity, in setting aside the just claimants in favour of those that have no claim at all,—he has that before his eyes which ought to have made him the more scrupulously avoid, and to keep at the farthest distance possible from, the contagion and even the suspicion of being corrupted by it. Moreover, my Lords, it was in consequence of these very

very transactions, that the new covenants were made, which bind the servants of the Company, never to take a present of above 200*l.* or some such sum of money, from any native in circumstances there described. This covenant I shall reserve for consideration in another part of this business. It was in pursuance of this idea, and to prevent the abuse of the prevailing custom of visiting the governing powers of that country, with a view of receiving presents from them, that the House of Commons afterwards, in its inquiries, took up this matter and passed the regulating act in 1773. But to return to Munny Begum—this very person, that had got into power by the means already mentioned, did Mr. Hastings resort to, knowing her to be well skilled in the trade of bribery;—knowing her skilful practice in business of this sort; knowing the fitness of her eunuchs, instruments and agents to be dealers in this kind of traffick. This very woman did Mr. Hastings select, stigmatized as she was in the Company's record, stigmatized by the very gentleman who sits next to him, and whose name you have heard read to you, as one of those members of the Council that reprobated the horrible iniquity of the transaction, in which this woman was a principal agent. For though neither the young Nabob nor his mother ought to have been raised to the stations

in which they were placed, and were placed there for the purpose of facilitating the receipt of bribes; yet the order of nature was preserved, and the mother was made the guardian of her own son. For though she was a prostitute and he a bastard, yet still she was a mother and he a son; and both nature and legitimate disposition, with regard to the guardianship of a son, went together.

But what did Mr. Hastings do? improving upon the preceding transaction, improving on it by a kind of refinement in corruption—he drives away the lawful mother from her lawful guardianship; the mother of nature he turns out, and he delivers her son to the stepmother, to be the guardian of his person. That your Lordships may see who this woman was, we shall read to you a paper from your Lordships' Minutes, produced before Mr. Hastings's face, and never contradicted by him from that day to this.

At a consultation, 24th July 1775:—"Shah "Chanim, deceased, was sister to the Nabob "Mahub ul Jung by the same father, but dif- "ferent mothers; she married Meer Mahomed "Jaffier Khan, by whom she had a son and a "daughter; the name of the former was Meer "Mahomed Sadduc Ali Khan, and the latter

"was

" was married to Meer Mahomed Cossim Khan
" Sadduc; Ali Khan had two sons and two
" daughters; the sons' names are Meer Sydoc
" and Meer Sobeem, who are now living; the
" daughters were married to Sultan Merza
" Daood.

" Baboo Begum, the mother of the Nabob
" Mobarick ul Dowlah, was the daughter of
" Summim Ali Khan, and married Meer Ma-
" homed Jaffier Khan. The history of Munny
" Begum, is this:—At a village called Balcurda,
" near Sehindra, there lived a widow, who from
" her great poverty, not being able to bring up
" her daughter Munny, gave her to a slave girl
" belonging to Summim Ali Khan, whose name
" was Bissoo; during the space of five years
" she lived at Shahjehunabad, and was educated
" by Bissoo, after the manner of a dancing girl;
" afterward the Nabob Shamot Jung, upon the
" marriage of Ikram ul Dowlah, brother to the
" Nabob Surage ul Dowlah, sent for Bissoo
" Beg's set of dancing girls from Shahjehunabad,
" of which Munny Begum was one, and allowed
" them 10,000 rupees for their expences, to
" dance at the wedding; while this ceremony
" was celebrating they were kept by the Nabob,
" but some months afterwards he dismissed
" them, and they took up their residence in this
" city. Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan then

" took them into keeping, and allowed Munny " and her set 500 rupees per month; till at " length finding that Munny was pregnant, he " took her into his own house; she gave birth " to the Nabob Nijam ul Dowlah, and in this " manner she has remained in the Nabob's " family ever since."

My Lords, I do not mean to detain you long upon this part of the business; but I have thought it necessary to advert to these particulars. As to all the rest, the honourable and able Manager who preceded me has sufficiently impressed upon your Lordships' minds the monstrous nature of the deposing of the Nabob's mother from the guardianship of her son, for the purpose of placing this woman there at the head of all his family, and of his domestick concerns in the seraglio within doors, and at the head of the state without; together with the disposal of the whole of the revenue that was allowed him. Mr. Hastings pretends, indeed, to have appointed at the same time a trusty mudseddy to keep the accounts of the revenue, but he has since declared that no account had been kept, and that it was in vain to desire it or to call for it. This is the state of the case with respect to the appointment of Munny Begum. With regard to the re-appointment of Mahomed Reza Khan, you have heard from my worthy fellow Manager, that

that he was acquitted of the charges that had been brought against him by Mr. Hastings, after a long and lingering trial. The Company was perfectly satisfied with the acquittal, and declared that he was not only acquitted, but honourably acquitted; and they also declared that he had a fair claim to a compensation for his sufferings. They not only declared him innocent, but meritorious. They gave orders that he should be considered as a person who was to be placed in office again upon the first occasion, and that he had entitled himself to this favour by his conduct in the place which he had before filled.

The Council of the year 1775 (whom I can never mention nor shall mention without honour) who complied faithfully with the Act of Parliament, who never disobeyed the orders of the Company, and to whom no man has imputed even the shadow of corruption, found that this Munny Begum had acted in the manner which my honourable fellow Manager had stated; that she had dissipated the revenue, that she had neglected the education of the Nabob, and had thrown the whole judicature of the country into confusion. They ordered that she should be removed from her situation, that the Nabob's own mother should be placed at the head of the seraglio, a situation to which she was entitled;

and, with regard to the rest of the offices, that Mahomed Reza Khan should be employed to fill them.

Mr. Hastings resisted these propositions with all his might, but they were by that happy momentary majority carried against him, and Mahomed Reza Khan was placed in his former situation. But Mr. Hastings, though thus defeated, was only waiting for what he considered to be the fortunate moment for returning again to his corrupt, vicious, tyrannical and disobedient habits. The re-appointment of Mahomed Reza Khan had met with the fullest approbation of the Company; and they directed, that, as long as his good behaviour entitled him to it, he should continue in the office. Mr. Hastings, however, without alleging any ill behaviour, and for no reason that can be assigned, but his corrupt engagement with Munny Begum, overturned (upon the pretence of restoring the Nabob to his rights) the whole of the Company's arrangement, as settled by the late majority, and approved by the Court of Directors.

I have now to shew you what sort of a man the Nabob was, who was thus set up in defiance of the Company's authority; what Mr. Hastings himself thought of him; what the Judges thought of him; and what all the world thought of him.

I must

I must first make your Lordships acquainted with a little preliminary matter:—a man named Roy Radachurn, had been appointed vakeel or agent, to manage the Nabob's affairs at Calcutta. One of this man's creditors attached him there. Roy Radachurn pleaded his privilege as the vakeel or representative of a sovereign prince. The question came to be tried in the Supreme Court, and the issue was, Whether the Nabob was a sovereign prince or not? I think the Court did exceedingly wrong in entertaining such a question; because, in my opinion, whether he was or was not a sovereign prince, any person representing him ought to be left free, and to have a proper and secure means of concerting his affairs with the Council. It was however taken otherwise; the question was brought to trial, Whether the Nabob was a sovereign prince sufficient to appoint and protect a person to manage his affairs, under the name of an ambassadour? In that cause did Mr. Hastings come forward to prove, by a voluntary affidavit, that he had no pretensions, no power, no authority at all; that he was a mere pageant, a thing of straw, and that the Company exercised every species of authority over him, in every particular, and in every respect; and that therefore to talk of him as an efficient person, was an affront to the common sense of mankind; and this

this you will find the Judges afterwards declared to be their opinion.

I will here press again one remark (which perhaps you may recollect that I have made before) that the chief and most usual mode in which all the villanies perpetrated in India, by Mr. Hastings and his co-partners in iniquity, has been through the medium and instrumentality of persons whom they pretended to have rights of their own, and to be acting for themselves; whereas such persons were, in fact, totally dependent upon him, Mr. Hastings, and did no one act that was not prescribed by him. In order therefore to let you see the utter falsehood, fraud, prevarication and deceit, of the pretences by which the native powers of India are represented to be independent, and are held up as the instruments of defying the laws of this kingdom, under pretext of their being absolute princes, I will read the affidavit of Warren Hastings, Esq. Governour General of Bengal, made the 31st July 1775:—"This deponent maketh oath, and "saith, That the late President and Council "did, on or about the month of August 1772, "by their own authority appoint Munny Begum, "relict of the late Nabob Meer Jaffier Ali Khan, "to be guardian to the present Nabob Mouba-"rick ul Dowlah, and Rajah Goordas, son of "Mahah Rajah Nundcomar, to be dewan of

"the

" the said Nabob's household; allowing to the " said Munny Begum, a salary of 140,000 rupees " per annum; and to the said Rajah Goordas, " for himself and officers, a salary of 100,000 " rupees per annum.—That the said late Pre- " sident and Council did, in or about the month " of August 1772, plan and constitute regular " and distinct courts of justice, civil and crimi- " nal, by their own authority, for administration " of justice to the inhabitants throughout Ben- " gal, without consulting the said Nabob, or " requiring his concurrence, and that the said " civil courts were made solely dependent on " the Presidency of Calcutta; and the said " criminal courts were put under the inspection " and controul of the Company's servants, " although ostensibly under the name of the " Nazim, as appears from the following extracts " from the plan for the administration of justice, " constituted by the President and Council as " aforesaid."

My Lords, we need not go through all the circumstances of this affidavit which is in your Minutes, and to save time, I will refer your Lordships to them. This affidavit, as I have already said, was put into the Court to prove, that the Nabob had no power or authority at all; but what is very singular in it, and which I recommend

commend to the particular notice of your Lordships when you are scrutinizing this matter, is, that there is not a single point stated to prove the nullity of this Nabob's authority, that was not Mr. Hastings's own particular act. Well, the Governour General swears; the Judge of the Court refers to him in his decision; he builds and bottoms it upon the Governour General's affidavit;—he swears, I say, that the Council, by their own authority, appointed Munny Begum to be guardian to the Nabob. "By what authority," the Governour General asks, "did the "Council erect courts of law and superintend "the administration of justice, without any "communication with the Nabob? Had the "Nabob himself any idea that he was a sove-"reign? Does he complain of the reduction of "his stipend or the infringement of treaties? "No, he appears to consider himself to be, what "in fact he really is, absolutely dependent "on the Company, and to be willing to accept "any pittance they would allow him for his "maintenance. He claims no rights; Does he "complain that the administration of justice is "taken into the hands of the Company? No. "By the treaty, the protection of his subjects "is delivered up to the Company; and he well "knew, that whoever may be held up as the "ostensible prince, the administration of justice

"must

" must be in the hands of those who have power " to enforce it;" he goes on, " The Governour " General, who, I suppose, had a delicacy to " state more than what had before been made " publick, closes his affidavit with saying, that " all he has deposed to, he believes to be pub- " lickly known, as it is particularly set forth in " the printed book entitled Reports of the Com- " mittee of the House of Commons. I knew" he adds, " it was there, and was therefore sur- " prised at this application; it is so notorious " that every body in the settlement must have " known it; when I say every body I mean " with an exception to the gentlemen who have " applied to the Court. The only reason I can " give for their applying, is the little time they " have been in the country." The Judge (I think it is Chief Justice Impey,) then goes on, " Perhaps this question might have been deter- " mined merely on the dates of the letters to " the Governour General; but as the Council " have made the other a serious question, I " should not have thought that I had done my " duty if I had not given a full and determinate " opinion upon it, I should have been sorry if " I had left it doubtful, whether the empty " name of a Nabob should be thrust between a " delinquent and the laws, so as effectually to " protect him from the hand of justice."

My

My Lords, the Court as you see bottoms its determination on what we stand upon here, Mr. Hasting's evidence that the empty name of a pretended sovereign should not be thrust forth between a delinquent and justice.

What does Mr. Lemaistre, the other Judge, say upon this occasion, "with regard to this "phantom, that man of straw Mobarick ul "Dowlah, it is an insult on the understanding "of the Court, to have made the question of "his sovereignty. But as it came from the "Governour General and Council, I have too "much respect for that body to treat it ludi-"crously, and I confess I cannot consider it "seriously, and we always shall consider a letter "of business from the Nabob, the same as a "letter from the Governour General and "Council."

This is the unanimous opinion of all the Judges concerning the state and condition of the Nabob. We have thus established the point we mean to establish, that any use which shall be made of the Nabob's name, for the purpose of justifying any disobedience to the orders of the Company, or of bringing forward corrupt and unfit persons for the government, could be considered as no other than the act of the persons who shall make such a use of it; and that no letter that the

Nabob

Nabob writes to any one in power, was or could be considered as any other than the letter of that person himself. This we wish to impress upon your Lordships, because, as you have before seen the use that has been made in this way of the Nabob of Oude, you may judge of the use that has been made of the name of Hyder Beg Khan, and of the names of all the eminent persons of the country. One word more and I have done; if whilst you remark the use that is made of this man's name, your Lordships shall find, that this use has ever been made of his name for his benefit, or for the purpose of giving him any useful or substantial authority, or of meliorating his condition in any way whatever, forgive the fraud, forgive the disobedience.

But if we have shewn your Lordships, that it was for no other purpose than to disobey the orders of the Company, to trample upon the laws of his country, to introduce back again, and to force into power, those very corrupt and wicked instruments which had formerly done so much mischief, and for which mischief they were removed, then we shall not have passed our time in vain, in endeavouring to prove that this man, in the opinion of a court of justice, and by publick notoriety, and by Mr. Hastings's own opinion, was held to be fit for nothing but to be made a tool in his hands.

Having

Having stated to your Lordships generally the effects produced upon the Mahomedan interest of Bengal, by the misconduct of the Prisoner at your bar, with respect to the appointment of the guardian of the Nabob or Subadar of that province, and of the ministers of his government, I shall have the honour of attending your Lordships another day; and shall shew you the use that has been made of this government and of the authority of the Nabob, who, as your Lordships have seen, was the mere phantom of power; and I shall shew how much a phantom he was for every good purpose, and how effectual an instrument he was made for every bad one.

[Adjourned.

TRIAL

OF

WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

SATURDAY, JUNE 14th, 1794.

EIGHTH DAY OF THE REPLY.

(MR. BURKE.)

MY LORDS,

YOUR Lordships heard upon the last day of the meeting of this high Court, the distribution of the several matters which I should have occasion to lay before you, and by which I resolved to guide myself, in the examination of the conduct of Mr. Hastings with regard to Bengal. I stated, that I should first shew the manner in which he comported himself with regard to the people, who were found in possession of the government when we first entered into Bengal. We have shewn to your Lordships the progressive steps by which the Native government was brought into a state of annihilation. We have stated the manner in which that government was solemnly declared by a court of justice,

to be depraved and incompetent to act, and dead in law. We have shewn to your Lordships (and we have referred you to the document) that its death was declared upon a certificate of the principal attending physician of the state, namely Mr. Warren Hastings himself; this was declared in an affidavit made by him, wherein he has gone through all the powers of government, of which he had regularly despoiled the Nabob Mobarick ul Dowlah part by part, exactly according to the ancient formula, by which a degraded knight was despoiled of his knighthood; they took, I say, from him all the powers of government, article by article; his helmet, his shield, his cuirass, at last they hacked off his spurs and left him nothing. Mr. Hastings laid down all the premises and left the Judges to draw the conclusion.

Your Lordships will remark, (for you will find it on your Minutes) that the Judges have declared this affidavit of Mr. Hastings to be a *delicate affidavit.* We have heard of affidavits that were true. We have heard of affidavits that were perjured, but this is the first instance that has come to our knowledge, (and we receive it as a proof of Indian refinement) of a delicate affidavit; this affidavit of Mr. Hastings we shall shew to your Lordships, is not entitled to the description of a good affidavit, however it might

be entitled, in the opinion of those Judges, to the description of a delicate affidavit, a phrase by which they appear to have meant that he had furnished all the proofs of the Nabob's deposition, but had delicately avoided to declare him expressly deposed. The Judges drew, however, this indelicate conclusion; the conclusion they drew was founded upon the premises; it was very just and logical; for they declared, that he was a mere cypher. They commended Mr. Hastings's delicacy, though they did not imitate it; but they pronounced sentence of deposition upon the said Nabob, and they declared that any letter or paper that was produced from him, could not be considered as an act of government. So effectually was he removed by the Judges out of the way, that no minority, no insanity, no physical circumstances, not even death itself, could put a man more completely out of sight. They declare that they would consider his letters in no other light than as the letters of the Company, represented by the Governour General and Council. Thus then, we find the Nabob legally dead.

We find next, that he was politically dead. Mr. Hastings, not satisfied with the affidavit he made in court, has thought proper upon record, to inform the Company and the world of what he considered him to be civilly and politically.

—[Minute entered by the Governour General :]
—" The Governour General. I object to this
" Motion, [a Motion relative to the trial
" above alluded to] because I do not appre-
" hend that the declaration of the Judges
" respecting the Nabob's sovereignty, will in-
" volve this government in any difficulties with
" the French or other foreign nations," [mark, my Lords, these political effects] " How little
" the screen of the Nabob's name has hitherto
" availed, will appear in the frequent and in-
" conclusive correspondence which has been
" maintained with the foreign settlements, the
" French especially, since the Company have
" thought proper to stand forth in their real
" character in the exercise of the Dewanny.
" From that period the government of these
" provinces has been wholly theirs, nor can all
" the subtleties and distinctions of political
" sophistry conceal the possession of power,
" where the exercise of it is openly practised
" and universally felt in its operation.—In de-
" ference to the commands of the Company,
" we have generally endeavoured, in all our
" correspondence with foreigners, to evade the
" direct avowal of our possessing the actual
" rule of the country; employing the unapplied
" term government, for the power to which we
" exacted their submission; but I do not re-
[illegible]— " member

" member any instance, and I hope none will be
" found, of our having been so disingenuous
" as to disclaim our own power, or to affirm
" that the Nabob was the real sovereign of those
" provinces. In effect I do not hesitate to say,
" that I look upon this state of indecision to
" have been productive of all the embarrass-
" ments which we have experienced with the
" foreign settlements; none of them have ever
" owned any dominion but that of the British
" government in these provinces; Mr. Chevalier
" has repeatedly declared, that he will not ac-
" knowledge any other, but will look to that only
" for the support of the privileges possessed by
" his nation, and shall protest against that alone
" as responsible for any act of power, by which
" their privileges may be violated or their pro-
" perty disturbed. The Dutch, the Danes, have
" severally applied to this government as to the
" ruling power, for the grant of indulgences and
" the redress of their grievances. In our replies
" to all, we have constantly assumed the pre-
" rogatives of that character, but eluded the
" direct avowal of it; under the name of in-
" fluence, we have offered them protection, and
" we have granted them the indulgences of
" government, under elusive expressions, some-
" times applied to our treaties with the Nabobs,
" sometimes to our own rights as the Dewan,

" sometimes openly declaring the virtual rule
" which we held of these provinces, we have con-
" tended with them for the rights of govern-
" ment, and threatened to repel with force the
" encroachments on it; we, in one or two in-
" stances, have actually put these threats into
" execution, by orders directly issued to the
" officers of government and enforced by de-
" tachments from our own military forces. The
" Nabob was never consulted nor was the pre-
" tence ever made, that his orders or concur-
" rence were necessary; in a word, we have
" always allowed ourselves to be treated as
" principals, we have treated as principals; but
" we have contented ourselves with letting our
" actions insinuate the character which we
" effectually possessed, without asserting it.—
" For my own part, I have ever considered the
" reserve which has been enjoined us in this
" respect, as a consequence of the doubts which
" have long prevailed, and which are still
" suffered to subsist respecting the rights of the
" British government and the Company, to the
" property and dominion of these provinces, not
" as inferring a doubt with respect to any foreign
" power; it has however been productive of
" great inconveniences, it has prevented our
" acting with vigour in our disputes with the
" Dutch and French. The former refuse to

this

" this day, the payment of the Bahor Pescush,
" although the right is incontestably against
" them, and we have threatened to enforce it.
" Both nations refuse to be bound by our de-
" crees, or to submit to our regulations; they
" refuse to submit to the payment of the duties
" on the foreign commerce but in their own
" way, which amounts almost to a total exemp-
" tion; they refuse to submit to the duty of ten
" per cent which is levied upon foreign salt, by
" which (unless a stop can be put to it by a more
" decisive rule,) they will draw the whole of
" that important trade into their own colonies;
" and even in the single instance in which they
" have allowed us to prescribe to them, namely,
" the embargo on grain on the apprehension of
" a dearth, I am generally persuaded that they
" acquiesced from the secret design of taking
" the advantage of the general suspension, by
" exporting grain clandestinely under cover
" of their colours which they knew would screen
" them from the rigorous examination of our
" officers. We are precluded from forming
" many arrangements of general utility, because
" of their want of controul over the European
" settlement; and a great part of the defects
" which subsist in the government and com-
" mercial state of the country are ultimately
" derived from this source. I have not the

" slightest suspicion, that a more open and de-
" cided conduct would expose us to worse con-
" sequences from the European nations; on the
" contrary, we have the worst of the argument
" while we contend with them under false
" colours, while they know us under the disguise,
" and we have not the confidence to disown it;
" what we have done and may do under an
" assumed character, is full as likely to involve
" us in a war with France, a nation not much
" influenced by logical weapons, if such can be
" supposed to be the likely consequences of our
" own trifling disagreement with them, as if we
" stood forth their avowed opponents. To con-
" clude, instead of regretting with Mr. Francis,
" the occasion which deprives us of so useless
" and hurtful a disguise; I should rather
" rejoice (were it really the case,) and con-
" sider it as a crisis which freed the constitution
" of our government from one of its greatest
" defects."

Now, my Lords, the delicacy of the affidavit is no more—the great arcanum of the state is avowed—it is avowed that the government is ours—that the Nabob is nothing. It is avowed to foreign nations; and the disguise which we have put on, Mr. Hastings states, in his opinion, to be hurtful to the affairs of the Company.

Here

Here we perceive the exact and the perfect agreement between his character as a delicate affidavit maker in a court of justice, and his indelicate declarations upon the records of the Company for the information of the whole world, concerning the real arcanum of the Bengal government.

Now I cannot help praising his consistency upon this occasion, whether his policy was right or wrong; hitherto we find the whole consistent, we find the affidavit perfectly supported. The inferences which delicacy at first prevented him from producing, better recollection and more perfect policy made him here avow. In this state things continued. The Nabob, your Lordships see, is dead—dead in law, dead in politics—dead in a court of justice—dead upon the records of the Company. Except in mere animal existence, it is all over with him.

I have now to state to your Lordships, that Mr. Hastings, who has the power of putting even to death in this way, possesses likewise the art of restoring to life. But what is the medicine that revives them?—Your Lordships I am sure will be glad to know what nostrum not hitherto pretended to by quacks in physick, by quacks in politicks, nor by quacks in law, will serve to revive this man, to cover his dead bones with flesh, and to give him life, activity and vigour.

vigour. My Lords, I am about to tell you an instance of a recipe of such infallible efficacy, as was never before discovered. His cure for all disorders is disobedience to the commands of his lawful superiors. When the orders of the Court of Directors are contrary to his own opinions, he forgets them all. Let the Court of Directors but declare in favour of his own system and his own positions, and that very moment merely for the purpose of declaring his right of rebellion against the laws of his country, he counteracts them. Then these dead bones arise; or, to use a language more suitable to the dignity of the thing, Bayes's men are all revived. "Are "these men dead?" asks Mr. Bayes's friend. "No," says he, "they shall all get up and "dance immediately."—But in this ludicrous view of Mr. Hastings's conduct, your Lordships must not lose sight of its great importance. You cannot have, in an abstract, as it were, any one thing that better developes the principles of the man; that more fully developes all the sources of his conduct; and of all the frauds and iniquities which he has committed, in order at one and the same time to evade his duty to the Court of Directors, that is to say, to the laws of his country, and to oppress, crush, rob, and ill-treat the people that are under him.

My Lords, you have had an account of the person

person who represented the Nabob's dignity, Mahomed Reza Khan; you have heard of the rank he bore, the sufferings that he went through, his trial and honourable acquittal, and the Company's order that the first opportunity should be taken to appoint him Naib Soubah or deputy of the Nabob, and more especially to represent him in the administering of justice. Your Lordships are also acquainted with what was done in consequence of those orders by the Council General, in the restoration and re-establishment of the executive power in this person; not in the poor Nabob, a poor helpless, ill-bred, ill-educated boy, but in the first Mussulman of the country, who had before exercised the office of Naib Soubah or Deputy Viceroy, in order to give some degree of support to the expiring honour and justice of that country. The majority, namely, General Clavering, Colonel Monson and Mr. Francis, whose names as I have before said, will, for obedience to the Company, fidelity to the laws, honour to themselves, and a purity untouched and unimpeached, stand distinguished and honoured in spite of all the corrupt and barking virulence of India against them. These men, I say, obeyed the Company; they had no secret or fraudulent connexion with Mahomed Reza Khan; but they re-instated him in his office.

The

The moment that real death had carried away two of the most virtuous of this community, and that Mr. Hastings was thereby re-established in his power, he returned to his former state of rebellion to the Company, and of fraud and oppression upon the people. And here we come to the re-vivificating medicine. I forgot to tell your Lordships that this Nabob, whose letters were declared by a court of law, with his own approbation, to be in effect letters of the Governour General and Council, concludes a formal application transmitted to them and dated 17th November 1777, with a demand of the restoration of his rights. Mr. Hastings upon this enters the following Minute:—"The Nabob's "demands are grounded upon positive rights, "which will not admit of a discussion; he has "an incontestable right to the management of "his own household; he has an incontestable "right to the Nizamut."

My Lords, you have heard his affidavit, you have heard his avowed and recorded opinion. In direct defiance of both, because he wishes to make doubtful the orders of the Company and to evade his duty, he here makes without any delicacy a declaration, which if it be true the affidavit is a gross perjury, let it be managed with what delicacy he pleases. The word Nizamut, which he uses, may be unfamiliar to your Lordships.

Lordships. In India it signifies the whole executive government, though the word strictly means Viceroyalty; all the princes of that country holding their dominions as representatives of the Mogul, the great nominal sovereign of the empire. To convince you that it does so, take his own explanation of it.—"It is his "by inheritance; the Adowlet and the Fouz-"darry having been repeatedly declared by the "Company and by this government, to apper-"tain to the Nizamut. The Adowlet, namely, "the distribution of civil justice; and the "Fouzdarry, namely, the executive criminal "justice of that country, that is to say, the "whole sovereign government of the courts of "justice, have been declared by the Company, "to appertain to the Nizamut."

I beg of your Lordships to recollect, when you take into your consideration the charges of the House of Commons, that the person they accuse, and persons suborned by him, have never scrupled to be guilty, without sense of shame, of the most notorious falsehoods, the most glaring inconsistencies, and even of perjury itself; and that it is thus they make the power of the Company dead or alive, as best suits their own wicked, clandestine, and fraudulent purposes; and the great end of all their actions and all their politicks, plunder and peculation.

I must

I must here refer your Lordships to a Minute of Mr. Francis's, which I recommend to your reading at large, and to your very serious recollection, in page 1086; because it contains a complete history of Mr. Hastings's conduct, and of its effects upon this occasion.

And now to proceed. The Nabob, in a subsequent application to the Company's government at Calcutta, desires that Munny Begum may be allowed to take on herself the whole administration of the affairs of the Nizamut (not the superiority in the administration of the affairs of the seraglio only, though this would have been a tyrannical usurpation of the power belonging to the legitimate mother of the Nabob) without the interference of any person whatever; and he adds, that by this the Governour will give him complete satisfaction. In all fraudulent correspondences, you are sure to find the true secret of it at last. It has been said by somebody, that the true sense of a letter is to be learnt from its postscript. But this matter is so clumsily managed, that in contempt of all decency, the first thing the Nabob does, is to desire he may be put into the hands of Munny Begum, and that without the interference of anybody whatever.

The next letter immediately following on the heels of the former, was received by the Council on the 12th of February 1778. In this letter he

he desires that Mahomed Reza Khan may be removed from his office in the government; and he expresses his hopes, that as he himself is now come to years of maturity, and by the blessing of God is not so devoid of understanding as to be incapable of conducting his affairs; he says, "I am therefore hopeful, from your favour and "regard to justice, that you will deliver me "from the authority of the aforesaid Mahomed "Reza Khan, and give your permission that I "take on myself the management of the Adow-"let and Fouzdarry."—There is no doubt of this latter application, in contradiction to the former, having arisen from a suspicion that the appointment of Munny Begum would be too gross, and would shock the Council; and Mr. Hastings therefore orders the second letter to be written from the Nabob, in which he claims the powers of government for himself. Then follows a letter from the Governour General, informing the Nabob, that it had been agreed that his Excellency being now arrived at years of maturity, the controul of his own household, and the courts dependent on the Nizamut and Fouzdarry, should be placed in his hands; and Mahomed Reza Khan was directed at the same time, to resign his authority to the Nabob.

Here your Lordships see Munny Begum, in effect, completely invested with, and you will see

see how she has used her power; for I suppose your Lordships are sick of the name of Nabob, as a real actor in the government. You now see the true parties in the transaction, namely, the lover, Warren Hastings, Esquire; and Munny Begum, the object of his passion and flame; to which he sacrifices as much as Anthony ever did to Cleopatra. You see the object of his love and affection placed in the administration of the Viceroyalty; you see placed at her disposal, the administration of the civil judicature, and of the executory justice; together with the salary, which was intended for Mahomed Reza Khan.

Your Lordships will be pleased to remember, that this distribution of the Nabob's government, was made in direct defiance of the orders of the Company. And as a further proof of this defiance, it will not escape your Lordships, that before this measure was carried into execution, Mr. Barwell being one day absent from the Council, Mr. Hastings fell into a minority; and it was agreed, upon that occasion, that the whole affair should be referred home to the Court of Directors, and that no arrangement should be made till the Directors had given their opinion. Mr. Hastings, the very moment after Mr. Barwell's return to his seat in the Council, rescinds this resolution, which subjected the orders of the Court of Directors to their own reconsideration;

reconsideration; and he hurries headlong and precipitately into the execution of his first determination. Your Lordships will also see, in this act, what sort of use Mr. Hastings made of the Council, and I have therefore insisted upon all these practices of the Prisoner at your bar, because there is not one of them in which some principle of government is not wounded, if not mortally wounded.

My Lords, we have laid before you the consequences of this proceeding. We have shewn what passed within the walls of the seraglio, and what tyranny was exercised by this woman over the multitude of women there. I shall now shew your Lordships, in what manner she made use of her power over the *supreme judicature*, to peculate, and to destroy the country; and I shall adduce, as proofs of this abuse of her authority, the facts I am about to relate, and of which there is evidence before your Lordships. There was an ostensible man named Sudder ul Hoe Khan, placed there at the head of the administration of justice, with a salary of 7,000*l.* a year of the Company's money. This man, in a letter to the Governour General and Council, received the 1st of September 1778:—says, "His Highness himself [the Nabob] is not "deficient in regard for me, but certain bad "men have gained an ascendancy over his

" temper, by whose instigation he acts." You will see, my Lords, how this poor man was crippled in the execution of his duty, and dishonoured by the corruption of this woman and her eunuchs, to whom Mr. Hastings had given the supreme government, and with it an uncontrolled influence over all the dependent parts. After thus complaining of the slights he receives from the Nabob, he adds, "Thus they cause " the Nabob to treat me, sometimes with in- " dignity, and others with kindness, just as they " think proper to advise him; their view is that " by compelling me to displeasure at such un- " worthy treatment, they may force me either " to relinquish my station, or to join with them " and act with their advice, and appoint crea- " tures of their recommendation to the different " offices, from which they might draw profit to " themselves."—In a subsequent letter to the Governour, Sudder ul Hoe Khan says, "The " Begum's ministers, before my arrival, with the " advice of their counsellors, caused the Nabob " to sign a receipt, in consequence of which " they received, at two different times, near " 50,000 rupees, in the name of the officers of " the Audawlet, Fouzdarry, &c. from the Com- " pany's Sircar; and having drawn up an ac- " count current in the manner they wished, " they got the Nabob to sign it, and then sent

" it

" it to me." In the same letter, he asserts, that these people have the Nabob entirely in their power.

Now, I have only to remark to your Lordships, that the first and immediate operation of Mr. Hastings's regulation, which put every thing into the hands of this wicked woman for her corrupt purposes, was, that the office of Chief Justice was trampled upon and depraved, and made use of to plunder the Company of money, which was appropriated to their own uses; and that the person ostensibly holding this office was forced to become the instrument in the hands of this wicked woman and her two wicked eunuchs. This then was the representation which the Chief Justice made to Mr. Hastings, as one of the very first fruits of his new arrangement. I am now to tell you what his next step was. This same Mr. Hastings, who had made the Nabob master of every thing, and placed every thing at his disposal, who had maintained that the Nabob was not to act a secondary part, and to be a mere instrument in the hands of the Company, who had, as you have seen, revived the Nabob, now puts him to death again. He pretends to be shocked at these proceedings of the Nabob, and not being able to prevent their coming before the Council of the Directors

at home, he immediately took Sudder ul Hoe Khan under his protection.

Now your Lordships see Mr. Hastings appearing in his own character again; exercising the power he had pretended to abdicate, whilst the Nabob sinks and subsides under him. He becomes the supporter of Sudder ul Hoe Khan, now that the infamy of the treatment he received could no longer be concealed from the Council. On the 1st of September 1778, the Governour informs the Nabob, "that it is highly expedient "that Sudder ul Hoe Khan should have full "controul in all matters relative to his office, "and the sole appointment and dismission of "the Sudder and Mofussal offices; and that "his seal and signature should be authentick "to all papers having relation to the business "entrusted to him; I therefore intimate to "you, that he should appoint and dismiss all "the officers under him, and that your Excel-"lency should not interfere in any one."

The Nabob, in a letter to the Governour, received the 3d of September 1778, says, "Agree-"ably to your pleasure, I have relinquished all "concern with the affairs of the Fouzdarry and "Audawlet, leaving the entire management in "Sudder ul Hoe Khan's hands."—Here you see

see the Nabob again reduced to his former state of subordination. This Chief Justiceship, which was declared to be his inherent right, he is obliged to submit to the controul of Mr. Hastings, and to declare that he will not interfere at all in a matter which Mr. Hastings had declared to be his incommunicable attribute. I do not say, that Mr. Hastings interfered improperly. Certainly it was not fit that the highest court of justice in all Bengal, should be made the instrument of the rapacity of a set of villains, with a prostitute at their head; just as if a gang of thieves in England, with their prostitutes at their head, should seize the judge which ought to punish them, and endeavour to make use of his name in their iniquitous transactions. But your Lordships will find that Mr. Hastings is here acting a merely ostensible part, and that he has always a means of defeating privately what he declares publickly to be his intention. Your Lordships will see soon how this ended. Mr. Hastings gets the Nabob to give up all his authority over the Chief Justice; but he says not one word of Munny Begum, the person who had the real authority in her hands, and who was not forbidden to interfere with him.—Mr. Hastings's order is dated the 1st September 1778. On the 3d of September, the Nabob is said to have relinquished all concern with

Sudder ul Hoe Khan. In a letter received the 30th of September, (that is about 27 days after the date of Mr. Hastings's order,) you will see how this pretended order was managed. Sudder ul Hoe Khan thus writes in a letter received the 30th of September:—"Yattibar Ali Khan "(Munny Begum's chief eunuch) from the "amount of salaries of the officers of the Au- "dawlet and Fouzdarry, which before my arri- "val he had received for two months from the "Sircar, made disbursements according to his "own pleasure; he had before caused the sum "of 7,400 rupees, on account of the price of "mine and my Paishcars kelants to be carried "to account, and now continually sends a man "to demand from me 4,300 and odd rupees, as "a balance of the price of kelants, and con- "stantly presses me to take it from the amount "of the salaries of the officers of the Audawlet "and Fouzdarry and send it to him, and I shall "be under the necessity of complying; I men- "tion this for your information."

My Lords, you see again how Mr. Hastings's pretended orders were obeyed; they were orders addressed to the Nabob whom he knew to be nothing, and who could neither controul or take the least share in the execution of them; but he leaves the thing loose as to Munny Begum

and her eunuchs, who he knew could alone carry them into effect. Your Lordships see that the first use made of the restored authority of the Nabob, was, under various pretences, to leave the salaries of the officers of government unprovided for; to rob the public treasury, and to give the Company's money to the eunuchs who were acting in the manner I have stated to you.

Information of these proceedings reaches Calcutta;—a regular complaint from a person in the highest situation in the government is made, and the Governour General is obliged again to take up the matter; and I shall now read to your Lordships, a letter of the 10th of October 1778, which contains a representation so pointed and so very just, of the fatal effects which his interference in the administration of justice had produced, as not to stand in need of any comment from me. It speaks too plainly to require any.

The Governour General's letter to the Nabob:—"At your Excellency's request, I sent Sudder "ul Hoe Khan, to take on him the administra- "tion of the affairs of the Audawlet and Fouz- "darry, and hoped by that means not only to "have given satisfaction to your Excellency, "but that through his abilities and experience,

" these affairs would have been conducted in
" such manner, as to have secured the peace of
" the country and the happiness of the people;
" and it is with the greatest concern I learn that
" this measure is so far from being attended
" with the expected advantages, that the affairs
" both of the Fouzdarry and Audawlet are in
" the greatest confusion imaginable, and daily
" robberies and murders are perpetrated through-
" out the country. This is evidently owing to
" the want of a proper authority in the person
" appointed to superintend them; I therefore
" addressed your Excellency, on the importance
" and delicacy of the affairs in question, and of
" the necessity of lodging full power in the
" hands of the person chosen to administer
" them: in reply to which your Excellency ex-
" pressed sentiments coincident with mine;
" notwithstanding which your dependents and
" people, actuated by selfish and avaricious
" views, have by their interference so impeded
" the business, as to throw the whole country
" into a state of confusion, from which nothing
" can retrieve it but an unlimited power lodged
" in the hands of the superintendent; I there-
" fore request that your Excellency will give
" the strictest injunctions to all your dependents
" not to interfere in any manner with any matter
" relative to the affairs of the Audawlet and

" Fouzdarry

" Fouzdarry, and that you will yourself relin-
" quish all interference therein, and leave them
" entirely to the management of Sudder ul Hoe
" Khan; this is absolutely necessary to restore
" the country to a state of tranquillity, and if
" your Excellency has any plan to propose for
" the management of the affairs in future, be
" pleased to communicate it to me, and every
" attention shall be paid to give your Excellency
" satisfaction."

My Lords, I think I have read enough to you for our present purpose; referring your Lordships for fuller information to your Minutes, page 1086, which I beg you to read with the greatest attention.

I must again beg your Lordships to remark, that though Mr. Hastings has the impudence still to pretend, that he wishes for the restoration of order and justice in the country, yet instead of writing to Munny Begum upon the business, whom he knew to be the very object complained of, and whose eunuchs are expressly mentioned in the complaint, he writes to the Nabob, whom he knew to be a pageant in his own court and government, and whose name was not even mentioned in this last complaint. Not one word is said, even in this letter to the Nabob, of Munny Begum or of her eunuchs. My Lords, when you

you consider his tacit support of the authors of the grievance, and his ostensible application for redress to the man, who, he knew, never authorized and could not redress the grievance; you must conclude that he meant to keep the country in the same state for his own corrupt purposes. In this state the country in fact continued; Munny Begum and her eunuchs continued to administer and squander the Company's money, as well as the Nabob's; robberies and murders continued to prevail throughout the country. No appearance was left of order, law, or justice, from one end of Bengal to the other.

The account of this state of things was received by the Court of Directors, with horrour and indignation; on the 27th of May 1779, they write, as you will find in page 1063 of your printed Minutes, a letter to their government at Calcutta, condemning their proceedings and the removal of Mahomed Reza Khan; and they order that Munny Begum shall be displaced, and Mahomed Reza Khan restored again to the seat of justice.

Mr. Francis, upon the arrival of these reiterated orders, moved in Council for an obedience to them. Mr. Hastings, notwithstanding he had before his eyes all the horrible consequences that attended his new arrangement, still resists that proposition. By his casting

voice

voice in the Council he counterorders the orders of the Court of Directors, and sanctions a direct disobedience to their authority, by a resolution that Mahomed Reza Khan should not be restored to his employment, but that this Sudder ul Hoe Khan, who still continued in the condition already described, should remain in the possession of his office. I say nothing of Sudder ul Hoe Khan; he seems to be very well disposed to do his duty, if Mr. Hastings's arrangements had suffered him to do it; and indeed if Mahomed Reza Khan had been reinstated and no better supported by Mr. Hastings than Sudder ul Hoe Khan, he could, probably, have kept the country in no better order, though perhaps his name and the authority and weight which still adhered to him in some degree, might have had some influence.

My Lords, you have seen his defiance of the Company; you have seen his defiance of all decency; you see his open protection of prostitutes and robbers of every kind ravaging Bengal; you have seen this defiance of the authority of the Court of Directors, flatly, directly and peremptorily persisted in, to the last. Order after order was reiterated, but his disobedience arose with an elastick spring in proportion to the pressure that was upon it.

My Lords, here there was a pause. The Directors

Directors had been disobeyed; and you might suppose that he would have been satisfied with this act of disobedience. My Lords, he was resolved to let the Native governments of the country know that he despised the orders of the Court of Directors, and that, whenever he pretended to obey them, in reality he was resolved upon the most actual disobedience. An event now happened, the particulars of which we are not to repeat here: disputes conducted on Mr. Francis's side, upon no other principle, that we can discover, but a desire to obey the Company's orders, and to execute his duty with fidelity and disinterestedness, had arisen between him and Mr. Hastings. Mr. Francis, about the time we have been speaking of, finding resistance was vain, reconciles himself to him; but on the most honourable terms as a public man, namely, that he should continue to follow and obey the laws, and to respect the authority of the Court of Directors. Upon this reconciliation it was agreed, that Mahomed Reza Khan should be restored to his office. For this purpose Mr. Hastings enters a Minute, and writes to the Nabob an ostensible letter. But your Lordships will here see an instance of what I said, respecting a double current in all Mr. Hastings's proceedings. Even when he obeys or pretends to obey the Company's orders, there is always

always a private channel through which he defeats them all.

Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Nabob Mobarick ul Dowlah, written the 10th of February 1780.—"The Company, whose orders are peremptory, have directed that Mahomed Reza Khan shall be restored to the offices he held in January 1778; it is my duty to represent this to your Excellency, and to recommend your compliance with their request, that Mahomed Reza Khan may be invested with the offices assigned to him under the Nizamut by the Company."

Your Lordships see here that Mr. Hastings informs the Nabob, that having received peremptory orders from the Company, he restores and replaces Mahomed Reza Khan. Mahomed Reza Khan then is in possession; and in possession by the best of all titles, the orders of the Company. But you will also see the manner in which he evades his duty, and vilifies in the eyes of these miserable country powers, the authority of the Directors. He is prepared, as usual, with a defeasance of his own act, and the manner in which that defeasance came to our knowledge is this. We know nothing of this private affair till Mr. Hastings, in his answer before the House of Commons, finding it necessary to destroy the validity of some of his own acts, brought forward

Sir

Sir John D'Oyley. He was brought forward before us, not as a witness in his own person, for the defence of Mr. Hastings, but as a narrator who had been employed by Mr. Hastings as a member of that Council, which, as you have heard, drew up his defence. My Lords, you have already seen the publick agency of this business, you have heard read the publick letter sent to the Nabob; there you see the ostensible part of the transaction. Now hear the banyan, Sir John D'Oyley, give an account of his part in it, extracted from Mr. Hastings's defence before the House of Commons.

"I was appointed Resident [at the court of "the Nabob,] on the resignation of Mr. Byam "Martin, in the month of January 1780, and "took charge about the beginning of February "of the same year. The substance of the in- "structions I received, was to endeavour, by "every means in my power, to conciliate the "good opinion and regard of the Nabob and "his family, that I might be able to persuade "him to adopt effectual measures for the better "regulation of his expenses, which were under- "stood to have greatly exceeded his income; "that I might prevent his forming improper "connections, or taking any steps derogatory to "his rank; and by every means in my power "support his credit and dignity in the eyes of

"the

" the world; and with respect to the various " branches of his family, I was instructed to en- " deavour to put a stop to the dissensions which " had too frequently prevailed amongst them; " the Nabob on his part was recommended to " pay the same attention to my advice, as he " would have done to that of the Governour " General in person. Sometime, I think, in " the month of February of the same year, I re- " ceived a letter from Mr. Hastings, purport- " ing that the critical situation of affairs re- " quiring the union and utmost exertion of every " member of the government, to give vigour " to the acts necessary for its relief, he had " agreed to an accommodation with Mr. Francis; " but to effect this point he had been under the " necessity of making some painful sacrifices, " and particularly that of the restoration of " Mahomed Keza Khan to the office of Naib " Soubah, a measure which he knew must be " highly disagreeable to the Nabob; and which " nothing but the urgent necessity of the case " should have led him to acquiesce in; that he " relied on me to state all these circumstances " in the most forcible manner to the Nabob, " and to urge his compliance; assuring him that " it should not continue longer than until the " next advices were received from the Court of " Directors."

Here

Here Mr. Hastings himself lets us into the secrets of his government. He writes an ostensible letter to the Nabob, declaring that what he does is in conformity to the orders of the Company. He writes a private letter in which he directs his agent to assure the Nabob, that what he had done was not in compliance with the orders of the Company, but in consequence of the arrangement he had made with Mr. Francis, which arrangement he thought necessary for the support of his own personal power. His design, in thus explaining the transaction to the Nabob, was, in order to prevent the Native powers from looking to any other authority than his, and from having the least hopes of redress of their complaints from the justice of this country or from any legal power in it. He therefore tells him, that Mahomed Reza Khan was replaced, not in obedience to the orders of the Company, but to gratify Mr. Francis. If he quarrels with Mr. Francis, he makes that a reason for disobeying the orders of his Masters. If he agrees with him, he informs the people concerned in the transaction privately, that he acts not in consequence of the orders that he has received, but from other motives. But that is not all. He promises that he will take the first opportunity to remove Mahomed Reza Khan from his office again. Thus the country is to be re-plunged into the same

same distracted and ruined state in which it was before. And all this is laid open fully and distinctly before you. You have it on the authority of Sir John D'Oyley. Sir John D'Oyley is a person in the secret; and one man who is in the secret, is worth a thousand ostensible persons.

Mahomed Reza Khan, I must now tell you, was accordingly re-instated in all his offices, and the Nabob was reduced to the situation, as Mr. Hastings, upon another occasion, describes it, of a mere cypher. But mark what followed —mark what this Sir John D'Oyley is made to tell you, or what Mr. Hastings tells you for him; for whether Sir John D'Oyley has written this for Mr. Hastings, or Mr. Hastings for Sir John D'Oyley, I do not know; because they seem, as somebody said of two great friends, that they had but one will, one bed, and one hat between them. These gentlemen who compose Mr. Hastings's council have but one style of writing among them; so that it is impossible for you to determine by which of the masters of this Roman school, any paper was written, whether by D'Oyley, by Shore, or by Hastings, or any other of them. They have a style in common; a kind of bank upon which they have a general credit; and you cannot tell to whose account any thing is to be placed.

But to proceed:—Sir John D'Oyley says there,

that the Nabob is reduced again to a cypher. Now hear what he afterwards says:—"About "the month of June 1781, Mr. Hastings, being "then at Moorshedabad, communicated to me "his intention of performing his promise to the "Nabob, by restoring him to the management "of his own affairs:"—[that is to say, by restoring Munny Begum again, and by turning out Mahomed Reza Khan.]—Your Lordships see that he communicated privately his intentions to Sir John D'Oyley, without communicating one word of them to his colleagues in the Supreme Council; and without entering any Minute in the records of the Council, by which it could be known to the Directors. Lastly, in order to shew you in what manner the Nabob was to be restored to his power, I refer your Lordships to the order he gave to Sir John D'Oyley, for investigating the Nabob's accounts, and for drawing up articles of instructions for the Nabob's conduct in the management of his affairs. You will there see clearly how he was restored; that is to say, that he was taken out of the hands of the first Mussulman in that country; the man most capable of administering justice, and whom the Company had expressly ordered to be invested with that authority, and to put him into the hands of Sir John D'Oyley. Is Sir John D'Oyley a Mussulman?

—Is

—Is Sir John D'Oyley fit to be at the head of such a government? What was there that any person could see about him, that entitled him to, or made him a fit person to be entrusted with, this power, in defiance of the Company's orders? And yet Mahomed Reza Khan, who was to have the management of the Nabob's affairs, was himself put under the most complete and perfect subjection to this Sir John D'Oyley. But, in fact, Munny Begum had the real influence in every thing. Sir John D'Oyley himself was only Mr. Hastings's instrument there to preserve it, and between them they pillaged the Nabob in the most shocking manner, and must have done so to the knowledge of Mr. Hastings. —A letter written at this time by Mr. Hastings to the Nabob discovers the secret beyond all power of evasion.

" Instructions from the Governour General
" to the Nabob Mobarick ul Dowlah, respecting
" his conduct in the management of his affairs:
" —9th. These I make the conditions of the
" compliance which the Governour General
" and Council have yielded to your late requisi-
" tion; it is but just that you should possess
" what is your acknowledged right, but their
" intention would be defeated, and you would
" be in a worse situation, if you were to be left

" a prey without a guide, until you have ac-
" quired experience, (which, to the strength
" and goodness of your understanding, will be
" the work but of a short period,) to the rapa-
" city, frauds and artifices of mankind. You
" have offered to give up the sum of four lacks
" of rupees, to be allowed the free use of the
" remainder of your stipend. This we have
" refused, because it would be contrary to jus-
" tice; you should consider this as a proof of
" the sincerity of the above arrangements which
" have been recommended to you, and of their
" expediency to your real interests; and your
" attention to them will be a means of recon-
" ciling the Company to the resolution which
" we have taken, and which will be reported to
" them, in a light very hurtful both to you and
" to us, if an improper effect should attend it.
" These I have ordered Sir John D'Oyley to
" read in your presence, and to explain them to
" you, that no part of them may escape your
" notice; and he has my positive orders, to
" remonstrate to you against every departure
" from them. Upon all these occasions, I hope
" and expect, that you will give him a particu-
" lar and cordial attention, and regard what he
" shall say, as if said by myself; for I know
" him to be a person of the strictest honour
" and integrity. I have a perfect reliance on
" him,

" him, and you cannot have a more attached
" or more disinterested counsellor. Although
" I desire to receive your letters frequently, yet
" as many matters will occur which cannot so
" easily be explained by letter as by conversa-
" tion, I desire that you will on such occasions
" give your orders to him respecting such
" points as you may desire to have imparted to
" me; and I, postponing every other concern,
" will give you an immediate, and the most
" satisfactory reply concerning them."

My Lords, here is a man who is to administer his own affairs; who has arrived at sufficient age to supersede the counsel and advice of the great Mahometan doctors, and the great nobility of the country, and he is put under the most absolute guardianship of Sir John D'Oyley. But Mr. Hastings has given Sir John D'Oyley a great character. I cannot confirm it, because I can confirm the character of none of Mr. Hastings's instruments. They must stand forth here, and defend their own character before you.

Your Lordships will now be pleased to advert to another circumstance in this transaction; you see here 40,000*l.* a year, offered by this man for his redemption. I will give you, he says, 40,000*l.* a year to have the management of my own affairs. Good heavens! Here is

a man who, according to Mr. Hastings's assertion, had an indisputable right to the management of his own affairs, but at the same time was notoriously so little fit to have the management of them as to be always under some corrupt tyranny or other, offers 40,000 *l.* a year out of his own revenues, to be left his own master, and to be permitted to have the disposal of the remainder—judge you of the bribery, rapine, and peculation, which here stare you in the face; —judge of the nature and character of that government, for the management of which 40,000*l.* out of 160,000 *l.* a year of its revenue, is offered by a subordinate to the supreme authority of the country. This offer shews, that at this time the Nabob had it not himself. Who had it? Sir John D'Oyley; he is brought forward as the person to whom is given the management of the whole. Munny Begum had the management before: but, whether it be an Englishman, a Mussulman, a white man, or a black man, a white woman, or a black woman, it is all Warren Hastings.

With respect to the four lacks of rupees, he gets Sir John D'Oyley, in the narrative that he makes before the House of Commons, positively to deny, in the strongest manner, and he says the Nabob would give oath of it, that the Nabob never gave a commission to any one to make such

such an offer. That such an offer was made, had been long published and long in print, with the remarks such as I have made upon it, in the Ninth Report of the Select Committee: that the Committee had so done was well known to Mr. Hastings and Sir John D'Oyley; not one word on the part of Mr. Hastings, not one word on the part of Sir John D'Oyley, was said to contradict it, until the appearance of the latter before the House of Commons. But, my Lords, there is something much more serious in this transaction. It is this, that the evidence produced by Mr. Hastings, is the evidence of witnesses who are mere phantoms; they are persons who could not, under Mr. Hastings's government, eat a bit of bread but upon his own terms, and they are brought forward to give such evidence as may answer his purposes.

You would naturally have imagined, that in the House of Commons, where clouds of witnesses had been before produced by the friends and agents of Mr. Hastings, he would then have brought forward Sir John to contradict this reported offer; but not a word from Sir John D'Oyley; at last he is examined before the Committee of Managers, he refuses to answer: Why? Because his answers might criminate himself. My Lords, every answer that most of them have been required to make, they are sen-

sible they cannot make, without danger of criminating themselves; being all involved in the crimes of the Prisoner. He has corrupted and ruined the whole service; there is not one of them that dares appear and give a fair and full answer, in any case, as you have seen in Mr. Middleton and many others, at your bar;—"I "will not answer this question," they say, "because it tends to criminate myself." How comes it that the Company's servants are not able to give evidence in the affairs of Mr. Hastings, without its tending to criminate themselves?

Well—Sir John D'Oyley is in England, why is he not called now? I have not the honour of being intimately acquainted with him, but he is a man of a reputable and honourable family. Why is he not called by Mr. Hastings to verify the assertion, and why do they suffer this black record to stand before your Lordships to be urged by us, and to press it as we do against him? If he knows that Sir John D'Oyley can acquit him of this part of our accusation, he would certainly bring him as a witness to your bar; but he knows he cannot. When therefore I see upon your records, that Sir John D'Oyley and Mr. Hastings received such an offer for the redemption of the Nabob's affairs out of their hands, I conclude first, that at the time of this

offer the Nabob had not the disposal of his own affairs; and secondly, that those who had the disposal of them, disposed of them so corruptly and prodigally, that he thought they could hardly be redeemed at too high a price. What explanation of this matter has been attempted? There is no explanation given of it at all. It stands clear, full bare in all its nakedness before you. They have not attempted to produce the least evidence against it. Therefore, in that state I leave it with you, and I shall only add, that Mr. Hastings continued to make Munny Begum the first object of his attention; and that though he could not entirely remove Mahomed Reza Khan from the seat of justice, he was made a cypher in it. All his other offices were taken out of his hands and put into the hands of Sir John D'Oyley, directly contrary to the orders of the Company, which certainly implied the restitution of Mahomed Reza Khan to all the offices which he had before held. He was stripped of every thing but a feeble administration of justice, which, I take for granted, could not, under the circumstances, have been much better in his hands, than it had been in Sudder ul Hoe Khan's.

Mr. Hastings's protection of this woman continued to the last; and when he was going away, on the third of November 1783, he wrote a sentimental

sentimental letter to the Court of Directors in her praise. This letter was transmitted without having been communicated to the Council. You have heard of delicate affidavits, here you have a sentimental official despatch; your Lordships will find it in page 1092 and 1093 of your printed Minutes. He writes in such a delicate sentimental strain of this woman, that I will venture to say you will not find in all the Arcadia, in all the Novels and Romances that ever were published, an instance of a greater, a more constant and more ardent affection, defying time, ugliness, and old age, did ever exist, than existed in Mr. Hastings towards this old woman Munny Begum. As cases of this kind, cases of gallantry abounding in sentimental expressions, are rare in the Company's records, I recommend it as a curiosity to your Lordships reading, as well as a proof of what is the great spring and movement of all the Prisoner's actions. On this occasion he thus speaks of Munny Begum.

" She too became the victim of your policy,
" and of the resentments which succeeded.
" Something too she owed of the source of her
" misfortunes, to the belief of the personal
" gratitude which she might entertain for the
" publick attention which I had shewn to her;

" yet

" yet exposed as she was to a treatment, which
" a ruffian would have shuddered at committing,
" and which no recollection of past enmities,
" shall compel me to believe, even for a moment,
" proceeded from any commission of authority,
" she still maintained the decorum of her cha-
" racter; nor even then, nor before, nor since
" that period, has the malice of calumny ever
" dared to breathe on her reputation."

Delicate! sentimental!—" Pardon, honour-
" able Sirs, this freedom of expostulation, I
" must in honest truth repeat, that your com-
" mands laid the first foundation of her mis-
" fortunes; to your equity she has now recourse
" through me for their alleviation, that she may
" pass the remainder of her life in a state which
" may at least efface the remembrance of the
" years of her affliction; and to your humanity
" she and an unseen multitude of the most help-
" less of her sex cry for subsistence."

Moving and pathetic!—I wish to recommend every word of this letter to your Lordships' consideration, as a model and pattern of perfection. Observe his pity for a woman who had suffered such treatment from the servants of the Company (a parcel of ruffians)—treatment that a ruffian would be ashamed of! Your Lordships have seen, in the evidence, what this ruffianism was.

was. It was neither more nor less than what was necessary in order to get at the accounts, which she concealed, as his own corrupt transactions. She was told indeed, that she must privately remove to another house, whilst her papers were examining. Mr. Hastings can never forget this. He cannot believe that any body dare send such an order, and he calls upon you to consider the helplessness of their sex, and the affronts offered to women.

For heavens sake, my Lords, recollect the manner in which Mr. Hastings and his creatures treated the Begums of Oude, and consider that this woman was only threatened, (for the threat was never attempted to be executed,) that she must, if she did not deliver up the accounts, probably be removed to another house, and leave the accounts behind her. This blot can never be effaced; and for this he desires the Court of Directors to make her a large allowance to comfort her in her old age. In this situation, Mr. Hastings leaves her. He leaves in the situation I have described the justice of the country. The only concern he has at parting is, that this woman may have a large allowance.

But I have yet to tell your Lordships, and it appears upon your printed Minutes, that this woman had a way of comforting herself:—for old ladies of that description who have passed their

their youth in amusements, in dancing, and in gallantries, in their old age are apt to take comfort in brandy. This lady was a smuggler, and had influence enough to avoid payment of the duty on spirits, in which article she is the largest dealer in the district; as indeed she is in almost every species of trade. Thus your Lordships see that this sentimental lady, whom Mr. Hastings recommends to the Directors, had ways of comforting herself. She carried on, notwithstanding her dignity, a trade in spirits. Now a Mahomedan of distinction never carries on any trade at all, it is an unknown thing; very few Mahomedans of any rank carry on any trade at all; but that a Mahomedan should carry on a trade in spirits is a prodigy, never heard of before; for a woman of quality, for a woman of sentiment to become a dealer in spirits is, my Lords, a thing reserved for the sentimental age of Mr. Hastings; and I will venture to say, that no man or woman could attempt any such a trade in India, without being dishonoured, ruined in character, and disgraced by it. But she appears not only to have been a dealer in it, but through the influence which Mr. Hastings gave her, to have monopolized the trade in brandy and to have evaded the duties. This then is the state in which we leave the two sentimental lovers, the one consoling herself with brandy, the other wheedling,

wheedling, and whining; and, as Swift describes the progress of an intrigue in some respects similar, which he calls the *Progress of Love*, whereas this is the Progress of Sentiment,

> " They keep at Staines the Old Blue Boar,
> Are cat and dog, and rogue and whore."

Here they set up the sign of the Old Blue Boar. Munny Begum monopolizes the trade in spirits; and hence she and Mr. Hastings commence their sentimental correspondence. And now having done with this progress of love, we return to the progress of justice.

We have seen how Sudder ul Hoe Khan, the Chief Justice of Mr. Hastings's own nomination, was treated. Now you shall see how justice was left to shift for herself under Mahomed Reza Khan. In page 1280, of your Lordships' Minutes, you will see the progress of all these enormities, of Munny Begum's dealing in spirits, of her engrossing the trade, of her evading duties, and lastly, the extinction of all order in that country and the funeral of justice itself. Mr. Shore's evidence respecting this state of the country will admit of no doubt. *Mr. Shore's remarks accompanying the Governour General's minutes of the* 18*th May* 1785. " Fouz-
" darry jurisdiction.—Of the Fouzdarry juris-
" diction nothing has yet been said. In this
" department

" department criminal justice is administered,
" and it is the only office left to the Nabob.—I
" do not see any particular reason for changing
" the system itself, and perhaps it would on
" many accounts be improper; but some regula-
" tions are highly necessary. Mahomed Reza is
" at the head of this department, and is the only
" person I know in the country qualified for it.
" If he were left to himself, I have not a doubt
" but he would conduct it well; but he is so
" circumscribed by recommendations of parti-
" cular persons, and by the protection held out
" to his officers by Europeans, that to my know-
" ledge he has not been able to punish them
" even when they have been convicted of the
" greatest enormities; and he has often on this
" account been blamed, where his hands were
" tied up."

My Lords, you now see in this Minute of Sir John Shore, now Governour General of Bengal, one of Mr. Hastings's own committee for drawing up his defence, the review which he had just then taken of the ruins of the government, which had been left to him by Mr. Hastings. You see here not the little paltry things, which might deserve in their causes, the animadversion of a rough satirist like Doctor Swift, whom I have just quoted; but you see things ten thousand times

times more serious; things that deserve the thunderbolt of vindictive justice upon the head of the Prisoner at your bar. For you see that after he had ostensibly restored Mahomed Reza Khan, the man who could and would have executed his office with fidelity and effect, the man who was fit for and disposed to do his duty, there was still neither law, order, nor justice, in the country. Why? Because of the interposition of Europeans, and men who must have been patronized and supported by Europeans. All this happened before Mr. Hastings's departure; so that the whole effect of the new arrangement of government was known to him before he left Calcutta. The same pretended remedy was applied. But in fact he left this woman in the full possession of her power. His last thoughts were for her; for the justice of the country, for the peace and security of the people of Bengal, he took no kind of care; these great interests were left to the mercy of the woman and her European associates.

My Lords, I have taken some pains in giving you this history. I have shewn you his open acts and secret stratagems, in direct rebellion to the Court of Directors; his double government, his false pretences of restoring the Nabob's independence, leading in effect to a most servile dependence, even to the prohibition of the approach

proach of any one, native or European, near him, but through the intervention of Sir John D'Oyley.—I therefore again repeat it, that Sir D'Oyley, and the English gentlemen who were patronized and countenanced by Mr. Hastings, had wrought all that havock in the country before Mr. Hastings left it.

I have particularly dwelt upon the administration of justice, because I consider it as the source of all good; and the mal-administration of it, as the source of all evil in the country. Your Lordships have heard how it was totally destroyed by Mr. Hastings through Sir John D'Oyley, who was sent there by him for the purpose of forming a clandestine government of corruption and peculation. This part of our charge speaks for itself, and I shall dismiss it with a single observation; that not the least trace of an account of all these vast sums of money delivered into the hands of John D'Oyley for the use of the Nabob, appears in any part of the Company's records. The undeniable inferences to be drawn from this fact, are first, that wherever we find concealment of money and the ceasing of an account, there has been fraud:—and secondly, that if we find this concealment accompanied with the devastation of a country, and the extinction of justice in it, that devastation of the country and that extinction

of justice, have been the result of that fraudulent peculation.

I am sure your Lordships will not think that a charge of the annihilation of administrative justice, in which the happiness and prosperity of a great body of nobility, of numerous, ancient, and respectable families, and of the inhabitants in general of extensive and populous provinces are concerned, can, if it stood single and alone, be a matter of trifling moment. And in favour of whom do all these sacrifices appear to have been made? In favour of an old prostitute; who, if shewn to your Lordships here, like Helen to the counsellors of Troy, would not, I think be admitted to have charms that could palliate this man's abominable conduct; you would not cry out with them—

Οὐ νέμεσις,——
Τοιῇ δ' αμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγια πασχειν.

For I will fairly say, that there are some passions that have their excuses; but the passion towards this woman was the passion of avarice and rapacity only—a passion indeed which lasted to the end of his government, and for which he defied the orders of the Court of Directors, rebelled against his masters, and finally subverted the justice of a great country.

My Lords, I have done with this business. I come

come next to the third division of the natives, those who form the landed interest of the country. A few words only will be necessary upon this part of the subject. The fact is, that Mr. Hastings, at one stroke, put up the property of all the nobility and gentry, and of all the freeholders—in short, the whole landed interests of Bengal, to a public auction, and let it to the highest bidder. I will make no observations upon the nature of this measure to your Lordships, who represent so large a part of the dignity, together with so large a part of the landed interest of this kingdom; though, I think, that even under your Lordships restrictive order, I am entitled so to do; because we have examined some witnesses upon this point, in the revenue charge. Suffice it to say that it is in evidence before your Lordships, that this sale was ordered. Mr. Hastings does not deny it. He says, indeed, he did it, not with an ill intention. My answer is, that it could have been done with no other than a bad intention. The owners of the land had no way left to save themselves but to become farmers of their own estates, and from the competition which naturally took place, and he himself declared, that the persons, whether owners or strangers, to whom he let the lands, had agreed to rents which surpassed their abilities to pay; I need

not tell you, what must have been the consequence when it got into such rapacious hands, and was taken out of the hands of its natural proprietors. That the publick revenue had sunk and lost by it; and that the country was wasted and destroyed. I leave it to your Lordships' own meditation and reflection; and I shall not press it one step further, than just to remind you of what has been so well opened and pressed by my fellow Managers. He, Mr. Hastings, confesses, that he let the lands to his own banyans; he took his own domestick servants and put them in the houses of the nobility of the country, and this he did in direct violation of an express order made by himself, that no banyan of a collector (the spirit of which order implied ten thousand times more strongly the exclusion of any banyans of a Governour General) should have any one of those farms. We also find, that he made a regulation that no farmers should rent more than a lack of rupees; but at the same time we find his banyans holding several farms to more than that amount. In short, we find, that in every instance where, under some plausible pretence or other, the fixed regulations are violated, it touches him so closely as to make it absolutely impossible not to suppose that he himself had the advantage of it.

For, in the first place, you have proof that he does

does take bribes, and that he has corrupt dealings. This is what he admits; but he says, that he has done it from publick spirited motives. Now there is a rule formed upon a just, solid presumption of law; that if you find a man guilty of one offence contrary to known law, whenever there is a suspicious case against him of the same nature, the *onus probandi* that he is not guilty, is turned upon him. Therefore when I find the regulations broken, when I find farms given of more than a lack of rupees, when I find them given to the Governour General's own banyan, contrary to the principle of the regulation—contrary I say in the strongest way to it, when I find that he accumulates farms beyond the regulated number; when I find all these things done, and besides that the banyan has great balances of account against him, then, by the presumption of law, I am bound to believe that all this was done, not for the servants, but for the master.

It is possible Mr. Hastings might really be in love with Munny Begum; be it so—many great men have played the fool for prostitutes, from Mark Antony's days downwards; but no man ever fell in love with his own banyan; the persons for whom Mr. Hastings was guilty of all this rapine and oppression have neither relations nor kindred whom they own; nor does any trace

of friendship exist among them, they do not live in habits of intimacy with any one; they are good fellows and bottle companions.

I must now proceed to observe upon another matter, which has been stated to your Lordships —namely, that as soon as he obtained the majority in the Council, (that beginning of all evils, that opening of Pandora's box) by the death of General Clavering and Colonel Monson, the first thing he did was to appoint a Commission, called an *Aumeeny*, to go through the whole country, to enter every man's house, to examine his title deeds, and to demand his papers of accounts of every kind, for the purpose of enabling himself to take advantage of the hopes and fears of all the parties concerned, and thus to ravage and destroy all their property.

And whom does he place at the head of this commission to be the manager of the whole affair? Gunga Govin Sing, another banyan of his, and one of his own domestick servants. This we have discovered lately, and not without some surprise; for though I knew he kept a rogue in his house, yet I did not think that it was a common receptacle of thieves and robbers.— I did not know till lately, that this Gunga Govin Sing was his domestick servant; but Mr. Hastings, in a Letter to the Court of Directors, calls him his faithful domestick servant, and as such

such calls upon the Company to reward him. To this banyan all the Company's servants are made subject, they are bound to obey all his orders, and those of his committee. I hope I need not tell your Lordships, what sort of stuff this committee was made of, by which Gunga Govin Sing was enabled to ravage the whole country. But, say his counsel, Mr. Hastings thought that the value of the lands was thoroughly known; they had been investigated three times over, and they were all let by publick auction to the highest bidder. This may or may not be a true test of their value: but it is a test which, as it led to the almost entire confiscation of the landed interest of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, three great kingdoms, by a dash of that man's pen, into the hands of his banyans and creatures, I can never think of it, or of its author, without horrour.

Some people say you ought to hate the crime and love the criminal. No, that is the language of false morality, you ought to hate the crime and the criminal, if the crime is of magnitude. If the crime is a small one, then you ought to be angry with the crime and reluctant to punish the criminal; but when there are great crimes, then you may hate them together. What! Am I to love Nero? To fall in love with Heliogabalus? Is Domitian to be the subject of my

regard to the settlement of the revenues of the Company. If there was not, then there is obviously one use only that could be made of it, namely, to put all the people of the whole country under obedience to Gunga Govin Sing. What then was done? Titles and accounts were exacted; the estimate was made, acre by acre; but we have not been able to find one word on their records, of any return that was made to the Company of this investigation, or of any settlement or assessment of the country founded upon it, or of any regulation that was established upon it. Therefore, as an honest man, and as a man who is standing here for the Commons of Great Britain, I must not give way to any idle doubts and ridiculous suppositions. I cannot, I say, entertain any doubts that the only purpose it was designed to answer, was, to subject the whole landed interest of the country, to the cruel inquisition of Gunga Govin Sing, and to the cruel purposes of Mr. Hastings. Shew me another purpose and I will give up the argument; for if there are two ways of accounting for the same act, it is possible it may be attributed to the better motive; but when we see that a bad thing was done under pretence of some good, we must attach a bad motive to it if the pretence be never fulfilled.

I have

I have now done with the landed interest of Bengal. I have omitted much, which might have been pressed upon your Lordships, not from any indisposition to remark upon the matter more fully, but because it has been done already by abler persons; I only wished to make some practical inferences, which, perhaps, in the hurry of my brother Managers might possibly have escaped them; I wished to shew you that one system of known or justly presumed corruption pervades the whole of this business, from one end to the other. Having thus disposed of the native landed interest, and the native Zemindars or land-holders of the country, I pass to the English government.

My Lords, when we have shewn plainly the utter extinction of the native Mahomedan government; when we have shewn the extinction of the native landed interest, what hope can there be for that afflicted country, but in the servants of the Company? When we have shewn the corrupt state of that service, what hope but from the Court of Directors? What hope but in the superintending controul of British tribunals? I think as well of the body of my countrymen as any man can do. I do not think that any man sent out to India, is sent with an ill purpose, or goes out with bad dispositions. No. I think the young men who

go

regard to the settlement of the revenues of the Company. If there was not, then there is obviously one use only that could be made of it, namely, to put all the people of the whole country under obedience to Gunga Govin Sing. What then was done? Titles and accounts were exacted; the estimate was made, acre by acre; but we have not been able to find one word on their records, of any return that was made to the Company of this investigation, or of any settlement or assessment of the country founded upon it, or of any regulation that was established upon it. Therefore, as an honest man, and as a man who is standing here for the Commons of Great Britain, I must not give way to any idle doubts and ridiculous suppositions. I cannot, I say, entertain any doubts that the only purpose it was designed to answer, was, to subject the whole landed interest of the country, to the cruel inquisition of Gunga Govin Sing, and to the cruel purposes of Mr. Hastings. Shew me another purpose and I will give up the argument; for if there are two ways of accounting for the same act, it is possible it may be attributed to the better motive; but when we see that a bad thing was done under pretence of some good, we must attach a bad motive to it if the pretence be never fulfilled.

I have

I have now done with the landed interest of Bengal. I have omitted much, which might have been pressed upon your Lordships, not from any indisposition to remark upon the matter more fully, but because it has been done already by abler persons; I only wished to make some practical inferences, which, perhaps, in the hurry of my brother Managers might possibly have escaped them; I wished to shew you that one system of known or justly presumed corruption pervades the whole of this business, from one end to the other. Having thus disposed of the native landed interest, and the native Zemindars or land-holders of the country, I pass to the English government.

My Lords, when we have shewn plainly the utter extinction of the native Mahomedan government; when we have shewn the extinction of the native landed interest, what hope can there be for that afflicted country, but in the servants of the Company? When we have shewn the corrupt state of that service, what hope but from the Court of Directors? What hope but in the superintending controul of British tribunals? I think as well of the body of my countrymen as any man can do. I do not think that any man sent out to India, is sent with an ill purpose, or goes out with bad dispositions. No. I think the young men who go

go there are fair and faithful representatives of the people of the same age; uncorrupted, but corruptible from their age, as we all are. They are sent there young. There is but one thing held out to them—You are going to make your fortune. The Company's service is to be the restoration of decayed noble families; it is to be the renovation of old and the making of new ones. Now when such a set of young men are sent out with these hopes and views, and with little education or a very imperfect one; when these people, from whatever rank of life selected; many from the best; most from the middling; very few from the lowest; but high, middling, or low, they are sent out to make two things coincide, which the wit of man was never able to unite—to make their fortune and form their education, at once. What is the education of the generality of the world? Reading a parcel of books? No. Restraint of discipline, emulation, examples of virtues and of justice, forms the education of the world. If the Company's servants have not that education, and are left to give loose to their natural passions, some would be corrupt of course, and some would be uncorrupt; but probably the majority of them would be inclined to pursue moderate courses between these two. Now I am to shew you that Mr. Hastings left these servants but this alterna-

tive

tive—be starved; be depressed; be ruined; disappoint the hopes of your families: or be my slaves; be ready to be subservient to me in every iniquity I shall order you to commit, and to conceal every thing I shall wish you to conceal. This was the state of the service, therefore the Commons did well and wiselywhen they sent us here not to attack this or that servant who may have peculated; but to punish the man who was sent to reform abuses, and to make Bengal furnish to the world a brilliant example of British justice. I shall now proceed to state briefly the abuses of the Company's government; to shew you what Mr. Hastings was expected to do for their reformation; and what he actually did do; I shall then shew your Lordships the effects of the whole.

I shall begin by reading to your Lordships an extract from the Directors' letter to Bengal, of the 7th April 1773:—"We wish we could re-"fute the observation, that almost every at-"tempt made by us and our administrations at "your presidency for the reforming of abuses, "has rather increased them, and added to the "miseries of the country we are anxious to "protect and cherish. The truth of this ob-"servation appears fully in the late appointment "of supervisors and chiefs—instituted as they "were,

" were, to give relief to the industrious tenants,
" to improve and enlarge our investments, to
" destroy monopolies, and retrench expences,
" the end has by no means been answerable to
" the institution. Are not the tenants more
" than ever oppressed and wretched? Are our
" investments improved? Have not the raw silk
" and cocoons been raised upon us 50 per cent
" in price? We can hardly say what has not
" been made a monopoly; and as to the ex-
" pences of your Presidency, they are at length
" settled to a degree we are no longer able to
" support. These facts (for such they are)
" should have been stated to us as capital rea-
" sons why neither our orders of 1771, nor
" indeed any regulations whatever, could be
" carried into execution. But, perhaps, as this
" would have proved too much, it was not sug-
" gested to us, for nothing could more plainly
" indicate a state of anarchy, and that there was
" no government existing in our servants at
" Bengal.

" And therefore, when oppression pervades
" the whole country, when youths have been
" suffered with impunity to exercise sovereign
" jurisdiction over the natives, and to acquire
" rapid fortunes by monopolizing of commerce,
" it cannot be a wonder to us or yourselves,
" that dadney merchants do not come forward

" to

" to contract with the Company, that the manu-
" factures find their way through foreign chan-
" nels, or that our investments are at once
" enormously dear, and of a debased quality.

" It is evident then that the evils which
" have been so destructive to us, lie too deep
" for any partial plans to reach or correct; it
" is therefore our resolution to aim at the root
" of those evils, and we are happy in having
" reason to believe that in every just and ne-
" cessary regulation, we shall meet with the
" approbation and support of the legislature,
" who consider the publick as materially in-
" terested in the Company's prosperity.

" In order to effectuate this great end, the
" first step must be to restore perfect obedience
" and due subordination to your administration.
" Our Governour and Council must re-assume
" and exercise their delegated powers upon
" every just occasion; punish delinquents,
" cherish the meritorious, discountenance that
" luxury and dissipation which, to the reproach
" of government, prevailed in Bengal. Our
" President, Mr. Hastings, we trust, will set the
" example of temperance, economy, and ap-
" plication; and upon this, we are sensible,
" much will depend. And here we take occa-
" sion to indulge the pleasure we have in ac-
" knowledging Mr. Hastings's services upon the
" coast

" coast of Choromandel, in constructing, with " equal labour and ability, the plan which has " so much improved our investments there; " and as we are persuaded he will persevere in " the same laudable pursuit through every " branch of our affairs in Bengal, he, in return, " may depend on the steady support and favour " of his employers.

" Your settlement being thus put into a " train of reform (without which indeed all re- " gulations will prove ineffectual,) you are next " to revert to the old system, when the business " of your Presidency was principally performed " by our own servants, who then had knowledge " of our investments, and every other depart- " ment of our concerns; you will therefore fill " the several offices with the factors and writers " upon your establishment; for with our present " appointments, we are assured there will be " sufficient for this purpose; and thus you will " banish idleness, and its attendants, extrava- " gance and dissipation. And here we enjoin " you to transmit to us a faithful and minute " state of the pay, and every known emolument " of all below Council; for as it is notorious " that even youths in our service expend in " equipage, servants, dress and living, infinitely " more than our stated allowances can afford, " we cannot but be anxious to discover the

" means

" means by which they are enabled to proceed
" in this manner; and indeed so obnoxious is
" this conduct to us, and so injurious in its con-
" sequences, that we expect and require you to
" shew your displeasure to all such as shall
" transgress in this respect, contrasting it at
" the same time with instances of kindness to-
" wards the sober, frugal, and industrious."

My Lords, you see the state in which the Directors conceived the country to be—that it was in this state is not denied by Mr. Hastings, who was sent out for the purpose of reforming it. The Directors had swept away almost the whole body of their Bengal servants for supposed corruption; and they appointed a set of new ones, to regenerate as it were the government of that country: Mr. Hastings says,—I was brought to India like other people. This indeed, is true; and I hope it will prove an example and instruction to all mankind, never to employ a man who has been bred in base and corrupt practices, from any hope that his local knowledge may make him the fittest person to correct such practices. Mr. Hastings goes on to say, that you could not expect more from him than could be done by a man bred up as he was, in the common habits of the country. This is also true. My Lords, you might as well expect a

man to be fit for a perfumer's shop, who has lain a month in a pig's stye, as to expect that a man who has been a contractor with the Company for a length of time, is a fit person for reforming abuses. Mr. Hastings has stated in general his history, his merits, and his services; we have looked over with care the records relative to his proceedings, and we find that in 1760 and 1761, he was in possession of a contract for bullocks, and a contract for provisions. It is no way wrong for any man to take a contract, provided he does not do what Mr. Hastings has condemned in his regulations; become a contractor with his masters.

But though I do not bear upon Mr. Hastings for having spent his time in being a bullock contractor, yet I say, that he ought to have laid aside all the habits of a bullock contractor, when he was made a great minister for the reformation of a great service full of abuses. I will shew your Lordships that he never did so; that on the contrary, being bred in those bad habits, and having had the education that I speak of, he persevered in the habits which had been formed in him, to the very last. I understand it has been imputed as a sort of a crime in me, that I stated something of the obscurity of Mr. Hastings's birth. The imputation has no foundation. Can it be believed that any man could

could be so absurd as to attack a man's birth, when he is accusing his actions. No, I have always spoken of the low, sordid, and mercenary habits in which he was bred; I said nothing of his birth.

But, my Lords, I was a good deal surprised when a friend of his and mine, yesterday morning, put into my hands, who had been attacking Mr. Hastings's life and conduct, a pedigree. I was appealing to the records of the Company; they answer, by sending me to the Herald's Office. Many of your Lordships' pedigrees are obscure, in comparison with that of Mr. Hastings, and I only wonder how he came to derogate from such a line of nobles, by becoming a contractor for bullocks.

A man may be an honest bullock contractor, God forbid that many of them in this country should not be very honest; but I find his terms were nearly four times as high as those which the House of Commons had condemned as exorbitant; they were not only unusually high, but the bullocks were badly supplied, and the contract had not been fairly advertised. It was therefore agreed to declare the same void at the expiration of twelve months, on the 1st December 1763.

I say again, that I do not condemn him for being a bullock contractor, but I am suspicious

of his honesty; because he has been nursed in bad and vicious habits. That of contracting with his masters is a bad habit, as he himself has stated in a record which is printed by the House of Commons; I condemn him for being a fraudulent bullock contractor; for he was turned out of that contract for fraudulent practices; it was declared void, and given to another at a lower price. After it was so disposed of, Mr. Hastings himself, condemning his own original contract, which was at twelve rupees, for a certain species of bullocks, took the contract again at seven; and on these terms it continued. What I therefore contend for is this, that he carried with him the spirit of a fraudulent bullock contractor, through the whole of the Company's service in its greatest and most important parts.

My Lords, the wading through all these corruptions is an unpleasant employment for me; but what am I to think of a man who holds up his head so high, that when a matter of account is in discussion, such as appears in this very defence that I have in my hand, he declares he does not know any thing about it? He cannot keep accounts—that is beneath him. We trace him throughout the whole of his career, engaged in a great variety of mercantile employments; and yet when he comes before you, you would

imagine

imagine that he had been bred in the study of the sublimest sciences, and had no concern in any thing else; that he had been engaged in writing a poem, an Iliad, or some work that might revive fallen literature. There is but one exception to his abhorrence of accounts. He always contrives to make up a good account for himself.

My Lords, we have read to you a letter in which the Court of Directors have described the disorders of their service—the utter ruin of it—the corruption that prevailed in it—and the destruction of the country by it.—When we are said to exaggerate, we use no stronger words than they do. We cannot mince the matter; your Lordships should not mince it; no little paltry delicacies should hinder you, when there is a country expiring under all these things, from calling the authors to a strict account. The Court of Directors sent him that statement; they recommended to him a radical reformation. What does he do? We will read his letter of 1773, in which you will find seeds sown for the propagation of all those future abuses which terminated in the utter and irremediable destruction of the whole service. After he has praised the Directors for the trust that they had placed in him, after expressing his highest gratitude, and so on; he says, "While I indulge the plea-

" sure which I receive from the past successes
" of my endeavours, I own I cannot refrain
" from looking back with a mixture of anxiety
" on the omissions by which I am sensible I may
" since have hazarded the diminution of your
" esteem; all my letters addressed to your
" honourable Court, and to the Secret Com-
" mittee, repeat the strongest promises of pro-
" secuting the inquiries into the conduct of your
" servants, which you have been pleased to com-
" mit particularly to my charge. You will readily
" perceive that I must have been sincere in
" those declarations, since it would have argued
" great indiscretion to have made them, had I
" foreseen my inability to perform them. I find
" myself now under the disagreeable necessity
" of avowing that inability; at the same time
" I will boldly take upon me to affirm, that on
" whomsoever you might have delegated that
" charge, and by whatever powers it might have
" been accompanied, it would have been suffi-
" cient to occupy the entire attention of those
" who were entrusted with it; and even with all
" the aids of leisure and authority, would have
" proved ineffectual. I dare appeal to the
" publick records, to the testimony of those
" who have opportunities of knowing me, and
" even to the detail which the publick voice can
" report of the past acts of this government,

" that

" that my time has been neither idly nor use-
" lessly employed; yet such are the cares and
" embarrassments of this various state, that
" although much may be done, much more even
" in matters of moment must necessarily remain
" neglected. To select from the miscellaneous
" heap, which each day's exigencies present to
" our choice, those points on which the general
" welfare of your affairs most essentially de-
" pends, to provide expedients for future advan-
" tages, and guard against probable evils, are
" all that your administration can faithfully
" promise to perform for your service, with their
" united labours most diligently exerted. They
" cannot look back without sacrificing the ob-
" jects of their immediate duty, which are those
" of your interest, to endless researches, which
" can produce no real good, and may expose
" your affairs to all the ruinous consequences
" of personal malevolence, both here and at
" home."

My Lords, you see here that after admitting that he has promised to the Court of Directors to do what they ordered him to do (and he had promised to make a radical reform in their whole service, and to cure those abuses which they have stated,) he declares, that he will not execute them; he pleads a variety of other occu-

pations; but as to that great fundamental grievance he was appointed to eradicate, he declares he will not even attempt it. Why did you promise? it naturally occurs to ask him that question. Why, says he, "you will readily "perceive that I must have been sincere in "those declarations, since it would have argued "great indiscretion to have made them, had "I known my inability to perform them." This is a kind of argument that belongs to Mr. Hastings exclusively. Most other people would say, You may judge of the sincerity of my promises by my zeal in the performance; but he says, you may judge of the sincerity of my promises, because I would not promise if I had not thought I should be able to perform. It runs in this ridiculous circle. I promised to obey the Court of Directors; therefore I knew that I could obey them; but I could not obey them, therefore I was absolved from my promise, and did not attempt to obey them. In fact there is not so much as one grievance or abuse in the country, that he reformed—and this was systematical in Mr. Hastings's conduct; that he was resolved to connive at the whole of the iniquities of the service, because he was resolved that every one of those existing iniquities should be practised by himself. But, says he, the reformation required can produce no real good,

and

and may expose your affairs to all the ruinous consequences of personal malevolence, both here and at home. This he gives you as a reason why he will not prosecute the inquiry into abuses abroad—because he is afraid that you should punish him at home for doing his duty abroad—that it will expose him to malevolence at home; and therefore to avoid being subject to malevolence at home, he would not do his duty abroad.

He follows this with something that is perfectly extraordinary; he desires, instead of doing his duty, (which he declares it is impossible to do,) that he may be invested with an arbitrary power. I refer your Lordships to pages 2827, 2828 and 2829 of the printed Minutes, where you will find the system of his government to be formed upon a resolution not to use any one legal means of punishing corruption, or for the prevention of corruption; all that he desires, is to have an absolute arbitrary power over the servants of the Company. There you will see, that arbitrary power for corrupt purposes over the servants of the Company, is the foundation of every part of his whole conduct. Remark what he says here; and then judge whether these inferences are to be eluded by any chicane.

"In

" In the charge of oppression, although sup-
" ported by the cries of the people and the
" most authentick representations, it is yet im-
" possible, in most cases, to obtain legal proofs
" of it; and unless the discretionary power
" which I have recommended, be somewhere
" lodged, the assurance of impunity from any
" formal inquiry will baffle every order of the
" Board; as, on the other hand, the fear of the
" consequences will restrain every man within
" the bounds of his duty, if he knows himself
" liable to suffer by the effects of a single
" controul."

My Lords, you see two things most material for you to consider in the judgment of this great cause, which is the cause of nations. The first thing for you to consider, is the declaration of the culprit at your Bar, that a person may be pursued by the cries of a whole people; that documents, the most authentick and satisfactory, but deficient in technical form, may be produced against him; in short, that he may be guilty of the most enormous crimes, and yet that legal proofs may be wanting. This shews you how seriously you ought to consider, before you reject any proof upon the idea that it is not technical legal proof. To this assertion of Mr. Hastings I oppose, however, the opinion of a gentleman

gentleman who sits near his side, Mr. Sumner, which is much more probable.

Mr. Hastings says, that the power of the Council is not effectual against the inferior servants, that is too weak to coerce them. With much more truth Mr. Sumner has said in his Minute, you might easily coerce the inferior servants; but that the dread of falling upon persons in high stations discourages and puts an end to complaint—I quote the recorded authority of the gentleman near him, as being of great weight, in the affairs of the Company, to prove, what is infinitely more probable, the falsehood of Mr. Hastings's assertion, that an inferior servant cannot be coerced; and that they must riot, with impunity, in the spoils of the people.

But we will go to a much more serious part of the business; after desiring arbitrary power in this letter, he desires a perpetuation of it. And here he has given you a description of a bad governour, to which I must call your attention, as your Lordships will find it, in every part of his proceeding, to be exactly applicable to himself and to his own government.

" The first command of a state so extensive " as that of Bengal, is not without opportunities " of private emoluments; and although the " allowance

" allowance which your bounty has liberally
" provided for your servants may be reasonably
" expected to fix the bounds of their desires,
" yet you will find it extremely difficult to
" restrain men from profiting by other means,
" who look upon their appointment as the mea-
" sure of a day, and who, from the uncertainty
" of their condition, see no room for any acqui-
" sition but of wealth, since reputation and the
" consequences which follow the successful con-
" duct of great affairs are only to be attained
" in a course of years. Under such circum-
" stances, however rigid your orders may be,
" or however supported, I am afraid that, in
" most instances, they will produce no other
" fruits than either avowed disobedience, or the
" worst extreme of falsehood and hypocrisy.
" These are not the principles which should
" rule the conduct of men, whom you have con-
" stituted the guardians of your property, and
" checks on the morals and fidelity of others;
" the care of self-preservation will naturally
" suggest the necessity of seizing the opportu-
" nity of present power, when the duration of
" it is considered as limited to the usual term of
" three years, and of applying it to the provi-
" sion of a future independency; therefore
" every renewal of this term is liable to prove
" a reiterated oppression. It is perhaps owing

" to

" to the causes which I have described, and
" a proof of their existence, that this appoint-
" ment has been for some years past so eagerly
" solicited, and so easily resigned. There are
" yet other inconveniences attendant on this
" habit, and perhaps an investigation of them
" all would lead to endless discoveries; every
" man, whom your choice has honoured with so
" distinguished a trust, seeks to merit approba-
" tion, and acquire an eclat by innovations, for
" which the wild scene before him affords ample
" and justifiable occasion."

You see, my Lords, he has stated that if a governour is appointed to hold his office only for a short time, the consequence would be, either an avowed disobedience, or, what is worse, extreme falsehood and hypocrisy; your Lordships know that this man has held his office for a long time, and yet his disobedience has been avowed, and his hypocrisy and his falsehood have been discovered, and have been proved to your Lordships in the course of this trial. You see this man has declared what are the principles which should rule the conduct of men, whom you have constituted the guardians of your property, and checks upon the morals and fidelity of others. Mr. Hastings tells you himself directly, what his duty was; he tells you himself,

himself, and he pronounces his own condemnation; what was expected from him, namely, that he should give a great example himself, and be a check and guardian of the fidelity of all that are under him. He declares at the end of this letter, that a very short continuance in their service would enable him to make a fortune up to the height of his desire. He has since thought proper to declare to you, that he is a beggar and undone, notwithstanding all his irregular resources, in that very service; I have read this letter to your Lordships, that you may contrast it with the conduct of the Prisoner, as stated by us and proved by the evidence we have adduced. We have stated and proved, that Mr. Hastings did enter upon a systematick connivance at the peculation of the Company's servants—that he refused to institute any check whatever for the purpose of preventing corruption; and that he carried into execution no one measure of government, agreeably to the positive and solemn engagements, into which he had entered with the Directors. We therefore charge him, not only with his own corruptions, but with a systematick, premeditated corruption of the whole service, from the time when he was appointed, in the beginning of the year 1772, down to the year 1785, when he left it. He never attempted to detect any one single abuse whatever;

whatever; he never endeavoured once to put a stop to any corruption, in any man, black or white, in any way whatever. And thus he has acted in a government, of which he himself declares the nature to be such, that it is almost impossible so to detect misconduct as to give legal evidence of it, though a man should be declared, by the cries of the whole people, to be guilty.

My Lords, he desires an arbitrary power over the Company's servants to be given to him. God forbid arbitrary power should be given into the hands of any man! At the same time, God forbid, if by power be meant the ability to discover, to reach, to check, and to punish subordinate corruption, that he should not be enabled so to do, and to get at to prosecute and punish delinquency by law. But honesty only, and not arbitrary power, is necessary for that purpose. We well know, indeed, that a government requiring arbitrary power has been the situation in which this man has attempted to place us.

We know, also, my Lords, that there are cases, in which the act of the delinquent may be of consequence, while the example of the criminal, from the obscurity of his situation, is of little importance: in other cases, the act of the delinquent may be of no great importance, but the consequences of the example dreadful. We know,

know, that crimes of great magnitude, that acts of great tyranny, can but seldom be exercised, and only by a few persons. They are privileged crimes. They are the dreadful prerogatives of greatness and of the highest situations only. But when a Governour General descends into the muck and filth of peculation and corruption; when he receives bribes and extorts money, he does acts that are imitable by every body. There is not a single man, black or white, from the highest to the lowest, that is possessed in the smallest degree of momentary authority, that cannot imitate the acts of such a Governour General. Consider, then, what the consequences will be, when it is laid down as a principle of the service, that no man is to be called to account according to the existing laws; and that you must either give, as he says, arbitrary power, or suffer your government to be destroyed.

We asked Mr. Anderson, whether the covenant of every farmer of the revenue did not forbid him from giving any presents to any persons, or taking any. He answered, he did not exactly remember, (for the memory of this gentleman is very indifferent, though the matter was in his own particular province,) but he thought it did; and he referred us to the record of it. I cannot get at the record; and therefore you must take it as it stands from Mr. Anderson,

Anderson, without a reference to the record,—that the farmers were forbidden to take or give any money to any person whatever, beyond their engagements. Now, if a Governour General comes to that farmer, and says, You must give a certain sum beyond your engagements—he lets him loose to prey upon the landholders and cultivators, and thus a way is prepared for the final desolation of the whole country, by the malversation of the Governour, and by the consequent oppressive conduct of the farmers.

Mr. Hastings being now put over the whole country to regulate it, let us see what he has done; he says, Let me have an arbitrary power, and I will regulate it. He assumed arbitrary power, and turned in and out every servant at his pleasure. But did he by that arbitrary power correct any one corruption? Indeed how could he? He does not say he did; for when a man gives ill examples in himself, when he cannot set on foot an inquiry that does not terminate in his own corruption, of course he cannot institute any inquiry into the corruption of the other servants.

But again, my Lords, the subordinate servant will say, I cannot rise, (properly here, as Mr. Hastings has well observed,) to the height of greatness, power, distinction, rank or honour in

the government; but I can make my fortune according to my degree, my measure, and my place. His views will be then directed so to make it. And when he sees that the Governour General is actuated by no other views; when he himself, as a farmer, is confidently assured of the corruptions of his superior, when he knows it to be laid down as a principle by the Governour General, that no corruption is to be inquired into; and that if it be not expressly laid down, yet that his conduct is such as to make it the same as if he had actually so laid it down; then, I say, every part of the service is instantly and totally corrupted.

I shall next refer your Lordships to the Article of Contracts; five contracts have been laid before you, the extravagant and corrupt profits of which, have been proved to amount to 500,000*l.* We have shewn you, by the strongest presumptive evidence, that these contracts were given for the purpose of corrupting the Company's servants in India, and of corrupting the Company itself in England. You will recollect, that 40,000*l.* was given in one morning for a contract, (which the contractor was never to execute,) I speak of Mr. Sullivan's contract. You will also recollect, that he was the son of the principal person in the Indian direction; and

who, in or out of office, was known to govern it; and to be supported by the whole Indian interest of Mr. Hastings.

You have seen the corruption of Sir Eyre Coote, in giving to Mr. Croftes the bullock contract. You have seen the bullock contracts, stated to Mr. Hastings's face, and not denied, to have been made for concealing a number of corrupt interests. You have seen Mr. Auriol's contract given to the Secretary of the Company, by Mr. Hastings, in order that he might have the whole records and registers of the Company under his controul. You have seen that the contract and commission for the purchase of stores and provisions, an enormous job, was given to Mr. Belli, an obscure man, for whom Mr. Hastings offers himself as security; under circumstances that went to prove that Mr. Belli held this commission for Mr. Hastings. These, my Lords, are things that cannot be slurred over; the Governour General is corrupt, he corrupts all about him; he does it upon system; he will make no inquiry.

My Lords, I have stated the amount of the sums which he has squandered away in these contracts; but you will observe that we have brought forward but five of them! Good God! When you consider the magnitude and multiplicity of the Company's dealings, judge you

what must be the enormous mass of that corruption, of which he has been the cause, and in the profits of which he has partaken. When your Lordships shall have considered (this document,) his defence, which I have read in part to you, see whether you are not bound, when he imputes to us and throws upon us the cause of all his corruption, to throw back the charge by your decision, and hurl it with indignation upon himself.

But there is another shameless and most iniquitous circumstance, which I have forgotten to mention, respecting these contracts. He not only considered them as means of present power, and therefore protected his favourites, without the least inquiry into their conduct, and with flagrant suspicion of a corrupt participation in their delinquency; but he goes still farther; He declares, that if he should be removed from his government, he will give them a lease in these exorbitant profits, for the purpose of securing a corrupt party to support and bear him out, by their evidence, upon the event of any inquiry into his conduct; to give him a razynama, to give him a flourishing character, whenever he should come upon his trial. Hear what his principles are; hear what the man himself avows:

" Fort

" Fort William, October 4, 1779.

" In answer to Mr. Francis's insinuation, " that it is natural enough for the agent to wish " to secure himself, before the expiration of the " present government; I avow the fact as to " myself as well as the agent. When I see a " systematick opposition to every measure pro- " posed by me for the service of the publick, " by which an individual may eventually benefit, " I cannot hesitate a moment to declare it to " be my firm belief, that should the government " of this country be placed in the hands of the " present minority, they would seek the ruin of " every man connected with me; it is therefore " only an act of common justice in me, to wish " to secure them as far as I legally can, from " the apprehension of future oppression."

Here is the principle avowed. He takes for granted, and he gives it the name of oppression, that the person who should succeed him would take away those unlawful and wicked emoluments, and give them to some other. But, says he, I will put out of the Company's power, the very means of redress.

The document, which I am now going to read to your Lordships, contains a declaration by Mr. Hastings of another mean which he used, of corrupting the whole Company's service.

Minute of the Governour General.—Extract from that Minute:—" Called upon continually " by persons of high rank and station, both in " national and in the Company's councils, to " protect and prefer their friends in the army; " and by the merits and services which have " come under my personal knowledge and ob- " servation, I suffer both pain and humiliation " at the want of power to reward the merito- " rious, or to shew a proper attention to the " wishes of my superiors, without having re- " course to means which must be considered as " incompatible with the dignity of my station. " The slender relief which I entreat of the " Board from this state of mortification, is the " authority to augment the number of my staff, " which will enable me to shew a marked and " particular attention in circumstances such as " above stated, and will be no considerable " burthen to the Company."

My Lords, you here see what he has been endeavouring to effect, for the express purpose of enabling him to secure himself a corrupt influence in England. But there is another point much more material—which brings the matter directly home to this Court, and puts it to you, either to punish him, or to declare yourselves to be accomplices in the corruption of the whole service.

service. Hear what the man himself says. I am first to mention to your Lordships the occasion upon which the passage which I shall read to you was written. It was when he was making his enormous and shameful establishment of a Revenue Board, in the year 1781; of which I shall say a few words hereafter, as being a gross abuse in itself; he then felt that the world would be so much shocked at the enormous prodigality and corrupt profusion of what he was doing, that he at last spoke out plainly.

A Minute of Mr. Hastings transmitted in a letter by Mr. Wheeler:—" In this, as it must " be the case in every reformation, the interest " of individuals has been our principal, if not " our only impediment. We could not at once " deprive so large a body of our fellow-servants " of their bread, without feeling that reluctance " which humanity must dictate; not unaccom- " panied perhaps with some concern for the " consequence which our own credit might suf- " fer, by an act which involved the fortunes of " many, and extended its influence to all their " connections.

" This, added to the justice which was due " to your servants, who were removed for no " fault of theirs, but for the publick conveni- " ence, induced us to continue their allowances

" until other offices could be provided for them " —and the more cheerfully to submit to the " expediency of leaving others in a temporary " or partial charge of the internal collections. " In effect the civil officers of this government " might be reduced to a very scanty number, " were their exigency alone to determine the " list of your covenanted servants, which at " this time consist of no less a number than two " hundred and fifty-two; many of them the " sons of the first families in the kingdom of " Great Britain, and every one aspiring to the " rapid acquisition of lacks, and to return to " pass the prime of their lives at home, as mul- " titudes have done before them. Neither will " the revenues of this country suffice for such " boundless pretensions; nor are they compa- " tible with yours and the national interests, " which may eventually suffer as certain a ruin " from the effects of private competition and " the claim of patronage, as from the more " dreaded calamities of war, or the other ordi- " nary causes which lead to the decline of " dominion."

My Lords, you have here his declaration that patronage, which he avows to be one of the principles of his government, and to be the principle of the last of his acts, is worse than war.

war, pestilence, and famine; and that all these calamities together might not be so effectual as this patronage, in wasting and destroying the country. And at what time does he tell you this? He tells it you when he himself had just wantonly destroyed an old regular establishment for the purpose of creating a new one, in which he says, he was under the necessity of pensioning the members of the old establishment, from motives of mere humanity. He here confesses himself to be the author of the whole mischief. —I could, says he, have acted better; I might have avoided desolating the country by peculation. But, says he, I had sons of the first families in the kingdom of Great Britain; every one aspiring to the rapid acquisition of lacks, and this would not suffer me to do my duty. I hope your Lordships will stigmatize the falsehood of this assertion. Consider, my Lords, what he has said—two hundred and fifty men at once, and in succession, aspiring to come home in the prime of their youth with *lacks*. You cannot take *lacks* to be less than two; we cannot make a plural less than two. Two lacks make 20,000*l.* Then multiply that by 252, and you will find more than 2,500,000*l.* to be provided for that set of gentlemen, and for the claims of patronage. Undoubtedly such a patronage is worse than the most dreadful calamities of war,

and

and all the other causes which lead to decline of dominion.

My Lords, I beseech you to consider this plan of corrupting the Company's servants, beginning with systematical corruption, and ending with an avowed declaration that he will persist in this iniquitous proceeding, and to the utmost of his power entail it upon the Company, for the purpose of securing his accomplices against all the consequences of any change in the Company's government. I dare not, says he, be honest; if I make their fortunes, you will judge favourably of me; if I do not make their fortunes, I shall find myself crushed with a load of reproach and obloquy, from which I cannot escape in any other way than by bribing the House of Peers. What a shameful avowal this to be made in the face of the world!—your Lordships' judgment upon this great cause will obliterate it from the memory of man. But his apprehension of some change in the Company's government is not his only pretext for some of these corrupt proceedings; he adverts also to the opposition which he had to encounter with his colleagues, as another circumstance which drove him to adopt others of these scandalous expediences. Now there was a period when he had no longer to contend with, or to fear, that opposition. When he had got rid of

the

the majority in the Council, which thwarted him, what did he do? Did he himself correct any of the evils and disorders which had prevailed in the service, and which his hostile majority had purposed to reform? No, not one; notwithstanding the Court of Directors had supported the majority in all their declarations, and had accused him of corruption and rebellion in every part of his opposition to them. Now that he was free from the yoke of all the mischief of that cursed majority which he deprecates, and which I have heard certain persons consider as a great calamity (a calamity indeed it was to patronage.)—As soon, I say, as he was free from this, you would imagine he had undertaken some great and capital reformation; for all the power which the Company could give, was in his hands—total, absolute, and unconfined.

I must here remind your Lordships, that the provincial councils was an establishment made by Mr. Hastings. So confident was he, in his own opinion, of the expediency of them, that he transmitted to the Court of Directors a draft of an Act of Parliament to confirm them; by this Act it was his intention to place them beyond the possibility of mutation. Whatever opinion others might entertain of their weakness, inefficacy, or other defects, Mr. Hastings found

no

no such things in them. He had declared in the beginning, that he considered them as a sort of experiment; but that in the progress he found them answer so perfectly well, that he proposed even an Act of Parliament to support them; the Court of Directors, knowing the mischiefs that innovation had produced in their service, and the desolations which it had brought on the country, commanded him not to take any step for changing them, without their orders. Contrary, however, to his own declarations—contrary to the sketch of an Act of Parliament, which, for aught he knew, the Legislature might then have passed, (I know that it was in contemplation to pass, about that time, several Acts for regulating the Company's affairs; and for one, I should have been, as I always have been, a good deal concerned in whatever tended to fix some kind of permanent and settled government in Bengal) in violation I say, of his duty, and in contradiction to his own opinion, he at that time, without giving the parties notice, turns out of their employments, situation, and bread, the provincial councils.

And who were the members of those provincial councils? They were of high rank in the Company's service; they were not junior servants, boys of a day, but persons who had gone through

through some probation; who knew something of the country; who were conversant in its revenues, and in the course of its business; they were, in short, men of considerable rank in the Company's service. What did he do with these people? Without any regard to their rank in the service;—no more than he had regarded the rank of the nobility of the country—he sweeps them all in one day from their independent situations, without reference to the Directors, and turns them all into pensioners upon the Company. And for what purpose was this done, it was done in order to reduce the Company's servants, who, in their independent situations, were too great a mass and volume for him to corrupt to an abject dependence upon his absolute power. It was, that he might tell them, You have lost your situations; you have nothing but small alimentary pensions; nothing more than a maintenance, and you must depend upon me whether you are to have any thing more or not. Thus at one stroke a large division of the Company's servants—and one of the highest orders of them, were reduced for their next bread, to an absolute, submissive dependence upon his will; and the Company was loaded with the pensions of all these discarded servants. Thus were persons in an honourable, independent situation, earned by long service in that country,

and

and who were subject to punishment for their crimes if proved against them, are all deprived, unheard, of their employments. You would imagine that Mr. Hastings had at least charged them with corruption. No, you will see upon your Minutes, that when he abolished the provincial councils, he declared at the same time, that he found no fault with the persons concerned in them.

Thus then he has got rid, as your Lordships see, of one whole body of the Company's servants; he has systematically corrupted the rest, and provided, as far as lay in his power, for the perpetuation of their corruption; he has connived at all their delinquencies, and has destroyed the independence of all the superior orders of them. Now hear what he does with regard to the Council General itself. They had, by the Act that made Mr. Hastings governour, the management of the revenues vested in them —you have been shewn by an honourable and able fellow Manager of mine, that he took the business of this department wholly out of the hand of the council; that he named a committee for the management of it, at an enormous expense—a committee made up of his own creatures and dependents; and that after destroying the provincial councils, he brought down the whole management of the revenue to Calcutta.

This

This committee took this important business entirely out of the hands of the council, in which the Act had vested it, and this committee he formed without the orders of the Court of Directors, and directly contrary to the Act which put the superintendence in the hands of the council.

Oh! But he reserved a superintendence over them—you shall hear what the superintendence was; you shall see, feel, smell, touch—it shall enter into every avenue and pore of your soul. It will shew you what was the real principle of Mr. Hastings's government. We will read to you what Sir John Shore says of that institution, and of the only ends and purposes which it could answer, your Lordships will then see how far he was justifiable in violating an Act of Parliament, and giving out of the council's hands the great trust which the laws of his country had vested in them. It is part of a paper written in 1785, by Mr. Shore, who was sole acting president of this committee, to which all Bengal was delivered; he was an old servant of the Company, and he is now at the head of the government of that country. He was Mr. Hastings's particular friend, and therefore you cannot doubt either of his being a competent evidence, or that he is a favourable evidence for Mr. Hastings, and that he would not say one word against the establish-

ment

ment of which he himself was at the head; that was not perfectly true, and forced out of him by the truth of the case. There is not a single part of it, that does not point out some abuse.

" In the actual collection of the revenues, " nothing is more necessary than to give imme- " diate attention to all complaints, which are " preferred daily without number, and to dis- " patch them in a summary manner; this cannot " be done where the controul is remote. In " every pergunna throughout Bengal there are " some distinct usages, which cannot be clearly " known at a distance; yet in all complaints of " oppression or extortion, these must be known " before a decision can be pronounced. But to " learn at Calcutta the particular customs of a " district of Radshahy or Daca is almost im- " possible; and considering the channel through " which an explanation must pass, and through " which the complaint is made, any colouring " may be given to it; and oppression and extor- " tion, to the ruin of a district, may be practised " with impunity. This is a continual source of " embarrassment to the committee of revenue in " Calcutta.

" One object of their institution was to bring " the revenues without the expences of agency

" to

" to the presidency, and to remove all local con-
" troul over the farmers, who were to pay their
" rents at Calcutta. When complaints are made
" against farmers by the occupiers of the lands,
" it is almost impossible to discriminate truth
" from falsehood. But to prevent a failure in
" the revenue, it is found necessary, in all
" doubtful cases, to support the farmer; a cir-
" cumstance which may give rise to and confirm
" the most cruel acts of oppression. The real
" state of any district cannot be known by the
" committee. An occupier or zemindar may
" plead that an inundation has ruined him, or
" that his country is a desert through want of
" rain. An aumeen is sent to examine the
" complaint; he returns with an exaggerated
" account of losses proved in volumes of intri-
" cate accounts, which the committee have no
" time to read, and for which the aumeen
" is well paid. Possibly, however, the whole
" account is false. Suppose no aumeen is em-
" ployed and the renter is held to the tenor of
" his engagement, the loss if real must occasion
" his ruin, unless his assessment is very mode-
" rate indeed.

" I may venture to pronounce, that the real
" state of the districts is now less known, and
" the revenue less understood, than in the year

" 1774. Since the natives have had the disposal " of accounts, since they have been introduced " as agents and trusted with authority, intricacy " and confusion have taken place; the records " and accounts which have been compiled are " numerous; yet when any particular account " is wanted, it cannot be found. It is the busi- " ness of all, from the ryots to the dewan, to " conceal and deceive. The simplest matters " of fact are designedly covered with a veil " through which no human understanding can " penetrate.

" With respect to the present committee of " revenue, it is morally impossible for them to " execute the business they are intrusted with. " They are invested with a general controul, " and they have an executive authority, larger " than ever was before given to any board or " body of men. They may and must get " through the business. But to pretend to " assert that they really execute it, would be " folly and falsehood.

" The grand object of the native dewannies " was, to acquire independent controul, and for " many years they have pursued this with won- " derful art. The farmers and zemindars under " the committee prosecute the same plan, and " have already objections to any thing that

" has

" has the least appearance of restriction. All " controul removed, they can plunder as they " please.

" The committee must have a dewan or " executive officer, call him by what name you " please. This man, in fact, has all the revenues " paid at the presidency, at his disposal, and " can, if he has any abilities, bring all the " renters under contribution. It is of little " advantage to restrain the committee them- " selves from bribery or corruption, when their " executive officer has the power of protecting " both undetected.

" To display the arts employed by a native " on such an occasion, would fill a volume. He " discovers the secret resources of the zemin- " dars and renters, their enemies and compe- " titors, and by the engines of hope and fear " raised upon these foundations, he can work " them to his purpose. The committee, with " the best intentions, best abilities, and steadiest " application, must after all be a tool in the " hand of their devan."

Here is the account of Mr. Hastings's new Committee of Revenue, substituted in the place of an establishment made by Act of Parliament; here is what he has substituted for Provincial Councils. Here is what he has substituted in

the room of the whole regular order of the service, which he totally subverted. Can we add any thing to this picture? Can we heighten it? Can we do any thing more than to recommend it to your Lordships' serious consideration?

But before I finally dismiss this part of our charge, I must request your Lordships' most earnest attention to the true character of these atrocious proceedings, as they now stand proved before you, by direct or the strongest presumptive evidence upon the Company's records, and by his own confessions and declarations, and those of his most intimate friends and avowed agents. Your Lordships will recollect that, previously to the appointment of Mr. Hastings to be the Governour General, in 1772, the collection of the revenues was committed to a Naib Duan, or native collector, under the controul of the Supreme Council; and that Mr. Hastings did at that time, and upon various occasions afterwards, declare it to be his decided and fixed opinion, that nothing would be so detrimental to the interests of the Company, and to the happiness and welfare of the inhabitants of their provinces as changes, and more especially sudden changes, in the collection of their revenues. His opinion was also most strongly and reiteratedly pressed upon him by his Masters, the Court of Directors. The first step taken after

after his appointment, was to abolish the office of Naib Duan, and to send a committee through the provinces, at the expence of 50,000*l.* a year, to make a settlement of rents to be paid by the natives for five years. At the same time he appointed one of the Company's servants to be the collector in each province, and he abolished the General Board of Revenue, which had been established at Moorshedabad, chiefly for the following reasons; that by its exercising a separate controul, the Members of the Supreme Council at Calcutta were prevented from acquiring that intimate acquaintance with the revenues, which was necessary to persons in their station; and because many of the powers necessary for the collection of the revenues, could not be delegated to a subordinate council. In consideration of these opinions, orders, and declarations, he, in 1773, abolished the office of collector, and transferred the management of the revenues to several councils of revenue, called Provincial Councils, and recommended their perpetual establishment by Act of Parliament. In the year 1774, in contradiction of his former opinion, respecting the necessity of the Supreme Council possessing all possible means of becoming acquainted with the details of the revenue, he again recommended the continuance of the Provincial Councils in all their parts. This he

again declared to be his deliberate opinion in 1775 and in 1776. In the mean time a majority of the Supreme Council, consisting of members who had generally differed in opinion from Mr. Hastings, had transmitted their advice to the Court of Directors, recommending some changes in the system of Provincial Councils. The Directors, in their reply to this recommendation, did in 1777 order the Supreme Council to form a new plan for the collection of the revenues, and to transmit it to them for their consideration.

No such plan was transmitted; but in the year 1781, Mr. Hastings having obtained a majority in the Council, he again changed the whole system, both of collection of the revenue and of the executive administration of civil and criminal justice. And who were the persons substituted in the place of those whom he removed? Names, my Lords, with which you are already but too well acquainted. At their head stands Munny Begum; then comes his own domestick and private bribe agent Gunga Govin Sing; then his banyan Cantoo Baboo; then that instrument of all evil Deby Sing; then the whole tribe of his dependents white and black, whom he made farmers of the revenue, with Colonel Hannay at their head; and lastly, his confidential residents, secret agents, and private secretaries, Mr. Middleton,

dleton, Major Palmer, &c. &c.—Can your Lordships doubt, for a single instant, of the real spirit of these proceedings? Can you doubt of the whole design having originated and ended in corruption and peculation?

We have fully stated to you, from the authority of these parties themselves, the effects and consequences of these proceedings—namely, the dilapidation of the revenues, and the ruin and desolation of the provinces. And, my Lords, what else could have been expected or designed by this sweeping subversion of the controul of the Company's servants over the collection of the revenue, and the vesting of it in a black duan, but fraud and peculation? What else, I say, was to be expected in the inextricable turnings and windings of that black mystery of iniquity, but the concealment of every species of wrong, violence, outrage and oppression? Your Lordships then have seen, that the whole country was put into the hands of Gunga Govin Sing; and when you remember who this Gunga Govin Sing was, and how effectually Mr. Hastings had secured him against detection, in every part of his mal-practices and atrocities, can you for a moment hesitate to believe that the whole project was planned and executed for the purpose of putting all Bengal under contribution to Mr. Hastings? But if you are resolved, after

all this, to entertain a good opinion of Mr. Hastings—if you have taken it into your heads, for reasons best known to yourselves, to imagine that he has some hidden virtues, which in the government of Bengal he has not displayed, and which, to us of the House of Commons, have not been discernible in any one single instance; these virtues may be fit subjects for paragraphs in newspapers—they may be pleaded for him by the partisans of his Indian *faction*. But your Lordships will do well to remember that it is not to Mr. Hastings himself that you are trusting, but to Gunga Govin Sing. If the committee were tools in his hands, must not Mr. Hastings have also been a tool in his hands?—If they with whom he daily and hourly had to transact business, and whose office it was to controul and restrain him, were unable so to do, is this controul and restraint to be expected from Mr. Hastings, who was his confident, and whose corrupt transactions he could at any time discover to the world? My worthy colleague has traced the whole of Mr. Hastings's bribe account, in the most clear and satisfactory manner to Gunga Govin Sing—him first—him last—him midst, and without end. If we fail of the conviction of the Prisoner at your bar, your Lordships will not have acquitted Mr. Hastings merely, but you will confirm all the robberies

and

and rapines of Gunga Govin Sing. You will recognise him as a faithful governour of India. Yes, my Lords, let us rejoice in this man. Let us adopt him as our own. Let our country —let this House be proud of him! If Mr. Hastings can be acquitted, we must admit Gunga Govin Sing's government to be the greatest blessing that ever happened to mankind. But if Gunga Govin Sing's government be the greatest curse that ever befel suffering humanity, as we assert it to have been, there is the man that placed him in it; there is his father, his godfather, the first author and origin of all these evils and calamities. My Lords, remember Dinagepore; remember the bribe of 40,000*l.* which Gunga Govin Sing procured for Mr. Hastings in that province, and the subsequent horrour of that scene.

But, my Lords, do you extend your confidence to Gunga Govin Sing? Not even the face of this man to whom the revenues of the Company, together with the estates, fortunes, reputations and lives of the inhabitants of that country were delivered over, is known in those provinces. He resides at Calcutta, and is represented by a variety of under agents. Do you know Govin Ghose? Do you know Nundalol? Do you know the whole tribe of peculators, whom Mr. Hastings calls his faithful domestick servants? Do you know all the persons that Gunga Govin Sing must

must employ in the various ramifications of the revenues throughout all the provinces? Are you prepared to trust all these? The Board of Revenue has confessed that it could not controul them. Mr. Hastings himself could not controul them. The establishment of this system was like Sin's opening the gates of hell; like her he could open the gate, but to shut, as Milton says, exceeded his power. The former establishments, if defective, or if abuses were found in them, might have been corrected. There was at least the means of detecting and punishing abuse. But Mr. Hastings destroyed the means of doing either, by putting the whole country into the hands of Gunga Govin Sing.

Now, having seen all these things done, look to the account. You Lordships will now be pleased to look at this business, as a mere account of revenue. You will find, on comparing the three years in which Mr. Hastings was in the minority, with the three years after the appointment of this committee, that the assessment upon the country increased, but that the revenue was diminished; and you will also find, which is a matter that ought to astonish you, that the expences of the collections were encreased, by no less a sum than 500,000*l.* You may judge from this what riot there was in rapacity and ravage, both amongst the European and native agents, but chiefly amongst the natives; for Mr. Hastings did

did not divide the greatest part of this spoil among the Company's servants, but among this gang of black dependents.

These accounts are in pages 1273 and 1274 of your Minutes. My Lords, weighty indeed would have been the charge brought before your Lordships by the Commons of Great Britain, against the Prisoner at your bar, if they had fixed upon no other crime or misdemeanor than that which I am now pressing upon you. His throwing off the allegiance of the Company, his putting a black master over himself, and his subjecting the whole of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, the whole of the Company's servants, the Company's revenues, the Company's farms, to Gunga Govin Sing. But, my Lords, it is a very curious and remarkable thing, that we have traced this man as Mr. Hastings's bribe broker, up to the time of the nomination of this committee; we have traced him through a regular series of bribery; he is Mr. Hastings's bribe broker at Patna; he is Mr. Hastings's bribe broker at Nuddea; he is his bribe broker at Dinagepore; we find him his bribe broker in all these places; but from the moment that this committee was constituted, it became a gulph in which the prevention, the detection, and the correction of all kind of abuses were sunk and lost for ever. From the time when this committee and Gunga Govin Sing were appointed, you do not find one word

word more of Mr. Hastings's bribes. Had he then ceased to receive any? or where are you to look for them? You are to look for them in that 500,000*l.* excess of expence in the revenue department, and in the rest of all that corrupt traffick of Gunga Govin Sing, of which we gave you specimens at the time we proved his known bribes to you. These are nothing but index hands to point out to you the immense mass of corruption which had its origin, and was daily accumulating in these provinces, under the protection of Mr. Hastings. And can you think, and can we talk of such transactions, without feeling emotions of indignation and horrour not to be described? Can we contemplate such scenes as these—can we look upon those desolated provinces—upon a country so ravaged—a people so subdued—Mahomedans, Gentoos, our own countrymen all trampled under foot, by this tyrant; can we do this without giving expression to those feelings, which, after animating us in this life, will comfort us when we die, and will form our best part in another?

My Lords, I am now at the last day of my endeavours to inspire your Lordships with a just sense of these unexampled atrocities. I have had a great encyclopedia of crimes to deal with; I will get through them as soon as I can; and I pray your Lordships to believe, that if I omit

any

any thing, it is to time I sacrifice it; that it is to want of strength I sacrifice it; that it is to necessity, and not from any despair of making, from the records and from the evidence, matter so omitted as black as any thing that I have yet brought before you.

The next thing of which I have to remind your Lordships respecting these black agents of the Prisoner, is, that we find him just before his departure from India, recommending three of them—Gunga Govin Sing, Gunga Ghose, and Nundalol, as persons fit and necessary to be rewarded for their services by the Company. Now your Lordships will find that of these faithful domestick servants, there is not one of them who was not concerned in these enormous briberies, and in betraying their own native and natural master. If I had time for it, I believe I could trace every person to be, in proportion to Mr. Hastings's confidence in him, the author of some great villany. These persons he thinks had not been sufficiently rewarded, and accordingly he recommends to the Board, as his dying legacy, provision for these faithful attached servants of his, and particularly for Gunga Govin Sing. The manner in which this man was to be rewarded makes a part of the history of these transactions, as curious perhaps as was ever exhibited

hibited to the world. Your Lordships will find it in page 2841 of your Minutes.

The Rajah of Dinagepore was a child at that time about eleven years old, and had succeeded to the rajahship (by what means I shall say nothing) when he was about five years old. He is made to apply to Mr. Hastings, for leave to grant a very considerable part of his estate to Gunga Govin Sing as a reward for his services. These services could only be known to the Rajah's family, by having robbed it of at least 40,000*l.* the bribe given to Mr. Hastings. But the Rajah's family is so little satisfied with this bountiful and liberal donation to Gunga Govin Sing, that they desire that several pergunnas or farms, that are mentioned in the application made to the Council, should be separated from the family estate and given to this man. Such was this extraordinary gratitude; gratitude not for money received, but for money taken away; a species of gratitude unknown in any part of the world but in India; gratitude pervading every branch of the family; his mother coming forward and petitioning likewise, that her son should be disinherited; his uncle, the natural protector and guardian of his minority, coming forward, and petitioning most earnestly, that his nephew should be disinherited; all the family join in one voice of supplication to

to Mr. Hastings, that Gunga Govin Sing may have a very large and considerable part of their family estate given to him. Mr. Hastings, after declaring that certain circumstances respecting this property, which are mentioned in his Minutes, were to his knowledge true, but which your Lordships, upon examination, will find to be false, and falsified in every particular, recommends, in the strongest manner, to the Board, a compliance with this application. He was at this time on the eve of his departure from India, in haste to provide for his faithful servants; and he well knew that this his last act would be held binding upon his successors, who were devoted to him.

Here indeed is genuine and heroic gratitude; gratitude for money received, not for money taken away; and yet this gratitude was towards a person who had paid himself out of the benefit which had been conferred, at the expence of a third party. For Gunga Govin Sing had kept for himself 20,000 *l.* out of 40,000 *l.* taken from the Rajah. For this cheat, stated by Mr. Larkins to be such, and allowed by Mr. Hastings himself to be such—he, with a perfect knowledge of that fraud and cheat committed upon the publick, (for he pretends that the money was meant for the Company,) makes this supplication to his colleagues, and departs.

After

After his departure, Gunga Govin Sing, relying upon the continuance of the corrupt influence which he had gained, had the impudence to come forward and demand the confirmation of this grant by the Council General. The Council, though willing to accede to Mr. Hastings's proposition, were stopped in a moment by petitions much more natural, but of a direct contrary tenor. The poor infant Rajah raises his cries not to be deprived of his inheritance; his mother comes forward and conjures the Council not to oppress her son and wrong her family; the uncle comes and supplicates the Board to save from ruin these devoted victims which were under his protection. All these counter-petitions come before the Council, while the ink is hardly dry upon the petitions which Mr. Hastings had left behind him, as proofs of the desire of this family to be disinherited in favour of Gunga Govin Sing. Upon the receipt of these remonstrances, the Board could not proceed in the business, and accordingly Gunga Govin Sing was defeated.

But Gunga Govin Sing was unwilling to quit his prey. And what does he do?—I desire your Lordships to consider seriously the reply of Gunga Govin Sing, as it appears upon your Minutes.—It is a bold answer. He denies the right of the Rajah to these estates. Why, says he,

he, all property in this country depends upon the will of your government; how came this Rajah's family into possession of this great zemindary? Why, they got it at first by the mere favour of government. The whole was an iniquitous transaction. This is a family, that in some former age has robbed others, and now let me rob them. In support of this claim, he adds the existence of other precedents; namely, that many clerks or mutseddies and banyans at Calcutta, had, as he says, got possession of the lands of other people, without any pretence of right.—Why should not I? Good God, what precedents are these!—Your Lordships shall now hear the razynama or testimonial, which, since Mr. Hastings's arrival in England, this Rajah has been induced to send to the Company from India, and you will judge then of the state in which Mr. Hastings has left that country. Hearken, my Lords, I pray you, to the razynama of this man, from whom 40,000 *l.* was taken by Mr. Hastings and Gunga Govin Sing, and against whom an attempt was made by the same persons, to deprive him of his inheritance. Listen to this razynama, and then judge of all the other testimonials which have been produced on the part of the Prisoner at your bar. His counsel rest upon them—they glory in them, and we shall not abate them one of these precious

testimonials. They put the voice of grateful India against the voice of ungrateful England. Now, hear what grateful India says, after our having told you for what it was so grateful.

" I, Radaunat, zemindar of pergunna Ha-
" velly Penjuna, &c. commonly called Dinage-
" pore:—As it has been learnt by the mut-
" seddies and the respectable officers of my
" zemindary, that the ministers of England are
" displeased with the late Governour Warren
" Hastings, Esq. upon the suspicion that he
" oppressed us, took money from us by deceit
" and force, and ruined the country—therefore,
" we, upon the strength of our religion, which
" we think it incumbent on and necessary for
" us to abide by, following the rules laid down
" in giving evidence, declare the particulars of
" the deeds of Warren Hastings, Esq. full of
" circumspection and caution, civility and jus-
" tice, superior to the conduct of the most
" learned; and by representing what is fact,
" wipe away the doubts that have possessed the
" minds of the ministers of England. That
" Mr. Hastings is possessed of fidelity and con-
" fidence and yielding protection to us; that
" he is clear of the contamination of mistrust
" and wrong, and his mind is free of covetous-
" ness or avarice. During the time of his
" administration,

" administration, no one saw other conduct
" than that of protection to the husbandmen
" and justice; no inhabitant ever experienced
" afflictions; no one ever felt oppression from
" him; our reputations have always been
" guarded from attacks by his prudence, and
" our families have always been protected by
" his justice."

Good God! my Lords, " *our families protected by his justice!*" What! after Gunga Govin Sing, in concert with Mr. Hastings, had first robbed him of 40,000*l.* and then had attempted to snatch, as it were, out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, the inheritance of their fathers, and to deprive this infant of a great part of his family estate. Here is a child, eleven years old, who never could have seen Mr. Hastings; who could know nothing of him but from the heavy hand of oppression, affliction, wrong and robbery, brought to bear testimony to the virtues of Mr. Hastings, before a British parliament. Such is the confidence they repose in their hope of having bribed the English nation by the millions and millions of money, the countless lacks of rupees poured into it from India; that they had dared to bring this poor robbed infant, to bear testimony to the character of Mr. Hastings. These are the things which are to be opposed to the mass of evidence which the

House of Commons bring against this man; evidence which they bring from his own acts, his own writing, and his own records; a cloud of testimony furnished by himself, in support of charges brought forward and urged by us agreeably to the magnitude of his crimes, with the horrour which is inspired by them, and with the contempt due to this paltry attempt towards his defence—which they had dared to produce from the hands of an infant, but eleven years old when Mr. Hastings quitted that country.

But to proceed with the razynama :—" He " never omitted the smallest instance of kind- " ness towards us, but healed the wounds of " despair with the salve of consolation, by means " of his benevolent and kind behaviour, never " permitting one of us to sink into the pit of " despondence; he supported every one by his " goodness, overset the designs of evil-minded " men, by his authority; tied the hand of op- " pression, with the strongest bandage of justice, " and by these means expanded the pleasing " appearance of happiness and joy over us; he " re-established justice and impartiality. We " were during his government in the enjoyment " of perfect happiness and ease, and many of us " are thankful and satisfied. As Mr. Hastings " was well acquainted with our manners and " customs, he was always desirous in every " respect of doing whatever would preserve our

" religious

" religious rites, and guard them against every " kind of accident and injury; and at all times " protected us. Whatever we have experienced " from him, and whatever happened from him, " we have written without deceit or exagge- " ration."

My Lords, before I take leave of this affair of bribes and of the great bribe broker, let me just offer a remark to your Lordships upon one curious transaction. My Lords, we have charged a bribe taken from the Nabob of Oude, and we have stated the corrupt and scandalous proceeding which attended it. I thought I had done with Oude; but as there is a golden chain between all the virtues, so there is a golden chain which links together all the vices. Mr. Hastings, as you have seen, and as my honourable colleague has fully opened it to you, received a bribe or corrupt present from the Nabob of Oude, in September 1781. We heard no more of this bribe than what we had stated (no other trace of it ever appearing in the Company's records, except in a private letter written by Mr. Hastings to the Court of Directors, and afterwards in a communication such as you have heard through Mr. Larkins,) till October 1783.

But, my Lords, we have since discovered, through and in consequence of the violent disputes

putes which took place between Mr. Hastings and the clan of residents that were in Oude, the resident of the Company, Mr. Bristow, the two residents of Mr. Hastings, Mr. Middleton, and Mr. Johnson, and the two residents sent by him to watch over all the rest, Major Palmer and Major Davy:—upon quarrels, I say, between them, we discovered that Mr. Middleton had received the offer of a present of 100,000 *l.* in February 1782. This circumstance is mentioned in a letter of Mr. Middleton's, in which he informs Mr. Hastings that the Nabob had destined such a sum for him.

Now the first thing that will occur to your Lordships, upon such an affair, will be a desire to know what it was that induced the Nabob to make this offer; it was but in the September preceding, that Mr. Hastings had received, for his private use, as the Nabob conceived, so bountiful a present as 100,000 *l.*, what motive then could he have had in February, to offer him another 100,000 *l.*?—This man, at the time, was piercing heaven itself with the cries of despondency, despair, beggary and ruin. You have seen, that he was forced to rob his own family, in order to satisfy the Company's demands upon him; and yet this is precisely the time when he thinks proper to offer 100,000 *l.* to Mr. Hastings. Does not the mind of every man revolt, whilst

he

he exclaims—and say, What! another 100,000 *l.* to Mr. Hastings? What reason had the Nabob to think Mr. Hastings so monstrously insatiable, that having but the September before received 100,000 *l.* he must give him another in February? —My Lords, he must, in the interval, have threatened the Nabob with some horrible catastrophe, from which he was to redeem himself by this second present. You can assign no other motive for his giving it. We know not what answer Mr. Hastings made to Mr. Middleton, upon that occasion, but we find that in the year 1783, Mr. Hastings asserts, that he sent up Major Palmer and Major Davy, to persuade the Nabob to transfer this present, which the Nabob intended for him, to the Company's service. Remark, my Lords, the progress of this affair. In a formal accusation preferred against Mr. Middleton, he charges him with obstructing this design of his. In this accusation, my Lords, you find him at once in the curious character of prosecutor, witness, and judge.

Let us see how he comports himself. I shall only state to you one of the articles of his impeachment. It is the Third Charge; it is in page 1267 of your Lordships' Minutes:—"For "sending repeatedly to the Vizier and to his "minister Hyder Beg Khan, to advise them "against transferring the ten lacks of rupees

" intended as a present to the Governour Gene-
" ral, to the Company's account; as it would
" be a precedent for further demands, which
" if the Vizier did not refuse in the first instance,
" the government would never cease to harass
" him for money."

The first thing that will occur to your Lordships, is an assertion of the accuser's:—" I am
" morally certain, that jaydaads or assets for ten
" lacks, either in assignment of land or in bills,
" had been prepared, and were in the charge
" or possession of Mr. Middleton, before Major
" Palmer's arrival, and left with Mr. Johnson on
" Mr. Middleton's departure."

My Lords, here is an accusation that Mr. Middleton had actually received money, either in bills or assets of some kind or other; and that upon quitting his residency, he had handed it over to his successor Mr. Johnson. Here are then facts asserted, and we must suppose substantiated. Here is a sum of money to be accounted for, in which there is a gross malversation directly charged as to these particulars, in Mr. Hastings's opinion. Mr. Macpherson, another member of the Council, has declared, that he understood at the time, that the ten lacks were actually deposited in bills, and that it was not a mere offer made by the Nabob to pay such a sum from the future revenue of the country. Mr. Hastings has

has these facts disclosed to him. He declares that he was "*morally* certain" of it; that is, as certain as a man can be of any thing, because physical certitude does not belong to such matters. The first thing you will naturally ask, is, why does he not ask Mr. Johnson how he had disposed of that money, which Mr. Middleton had put in his hands? He does no such thing; he passes over it totally, as if it were no part of the matter in question, and the accusation against Mr. Middleton terminates in the manner you will there find stated. When Mr. Johnson is asked, why was not that money applied to the Company's service? he boldly steps forward, and says, I prevented it from being so applied. It never was, it never ought to have been so applied; such an appropriation of money to be taken from the Nabob, would have been enormous upon that occasion.

What then does Mr. Hastings do? Does he examine Mr. Middleton upon the subject, who charges himself with having received the money? —Mr. Middleton was at that very time in Calcutta, called down thither by Mr. Hastings himself. One would naturally expect that he would call upon him, to explain for what purpose he left the money with Mr. Johnson. He did no such thing. Did he examine Mr. Johnson himself, who was charged with having received the money

money from Mr. Middleton? Did he ask him, what he had done with that money? Not one word. Did he send for Major Palmer and Major Davy to account for it? No. Did he call any shroff, any banker, any one person concerned in the payment of the money; or any one person in the management of the revenue? No, not one.—Directly in the face of his own assertions, directly contrary to his moral conviction of the fact, that the money had been actually deposited, he tries Mr. Johnson collusively and obliquely; not upon the account of what was done with the money, but why it was prevented from being applied to the Company's service; and he acquits him in a manner that (taking the whole of it together) will give your Lordships the finest idea possible of a Bengal judicature, as exercised by Mr. Hastings.

"I am not sorry," says he, "that Mr. Johnson chose to defeat my intentions, since it would have added to the Nabob's distresses, but with no immediate relief to the Company, If, in his own breast, he can view the secret motives of this transaction, and on their testimony approve it, I also acquit him."—Merciful God! Here is a man accused by regular articles of impeachment. The accuser declares, he is morally certain that the money had been received, but was prevented from being applied to its destination

by

by the person accused, and he acquits him! Does he acquit him, from his own knowledge, or from any evidence? No; but he applies to the man's conscience, and says, if you in your conscience can acquit yourself, I acquit you.

Here then is a proceeding, the most astonishing and shameless that perhaps was ever witnessed; a court trying a man for a delinquency and misapplication of money, destined, in the first instance, for the use of the Judge, but which he declares ought, in his own opinion, to be set apart for the publick use; and which he was desirous of applying to the Company's service, without regard to his own interest; and then the Judge, declaring, he is not sorry that his purpose had been defeated by the party accused. Instead however of censuring the accused, he applies to the man's own conscience:—Does your conscience, says he, acquit you of having acted wrong? The accused makes no reply; and then Mr. Hastings, by an hypothetical conclusion, acquits him.

Mr. Hastings is accused by the Commons, for that having a moral certainty of the money's being intended for his use, he would not have ceased to inquire into the actual application of it, but from some corrupt motive and intention. With this he is charged. He comes before you to make

make his defence. Mr. Middleton is in England. Does he call Mr. Middleton to explain it here? Does he call upon Mr. Johnson, who was the other day in this Court, to account for it? Why did he not, when he sent for these curious papers and testimonials to Major Palmer, (the person authorized, as he pretends, by him, to resign all his pretensions to the money procured) send for Major Palmer, who is the person that accused him in this business? Why not send for him to bear some testimony respecting it? No; he had time enough; but at no one time, and in no place, did he do this; therefore the imputation of the foulest corruption attaches upon him, joined with the infamy of a collusive prosecution, instituted for the sake of a collusive acquittal.

Having explained to your Lordships the nature, and detailed the circumstances, as far as we are acquainted with them, of this fraudulent transaction, we have only further to remind you, that though Mr. Middleton was declared guilty of five of the six charges brought against him by Mr. Hastings, yet the next thing you hear is, that Mr. Hastings, after declaring that this conduct of Mr. Middleton had been very bad, and that the conduct of the other servants of the Company concerned with him, had been ten times worse, he directly appoints him to one

of

of the most honourable and confidential offices the Company had to dispose of—he sends him ambassador to the Nizam; to give to all the courts of India a specimen of the justice, honour and decency of the British government.

My Lords, with regard to the bribe for the *entertainment*, I only beg leave to make one observation to you upon that article. I could say, if the time would admit it, a great deal upon that subject; but I wish to compress it, and I shall therefore only recommend it in general to your Lordships deliberate consideration. The covenant subsisting between the Company and its servants was made for the express purpose of putting an end to all such entertainments. By this convention it is ordered, that no presents exceeding 200*l.* shall be accepted upon any pretence for an entertainment. The covenant was intended to put an end to the custom of receiving money for entertainments, even when visiting an independent Oriental prince. But your Lordships know that the Nabob was no prince, but a poor, miserable, undone dependent upon the Company. The present was also taken by Mr. Hastings, at a time when he went upon the cruel commission of cutting down the Nabob's allowance from 400,000*l.* to 260,000*l.*—and when he was reducing to beggary thousands of persons, who were

were dependent for bread upon the Nabob; and ruining, perhaps, forty thousand others. I shall say no more upon that subject, though, in truth, it is a thing upon which much observation might be made.

I shall now pass on to another article connected with, though not making a direct part of that of corrupt bribery. I mean the swindling subterfuges, by which he has attempted to justify his corrupt practices. At one time he defends them, by pleading the necessities of his own affairs, as when he takes presents and entertainments avowedly for his own profits. At another time he defends them, by pleading the goodness of his intentions. He intended, he says, to give the money to the Company. His last plea has something in it (which shall I say?) of a more awful or of a more abandoned character, or of both. In the settlement of his publick account before he left India, he takes credit for a bond which he had received from Nobkissin, upon some account or other. He then returns to England, and what does he do. Pay off? No. Give up the bond to the Company? No. He says, I will account to the Company for this money; and when he comes to give this account of the expenditure of this money, your Lordships will not be a little astonished at the items of it. One is for founding a Mahomedan college.

college. It is a very strange thing that Rajah Nobkissin, who is a Gentoo, should be employed by Mr. Hastings to found a Mahomedan college. We will allow Mr. Hastings, who is a Christian, or would be thought a Christian, to grow pious at last; and as many others have done, who have spent their lives in fraud, rapacity and peculation, to seek amends, and to expiate his crimes, by charitable foundations. Nay, we will suppose Mr. Hastings to have taken it into his head, to turn Mahomedan (Gentoo he could not) and to have designed, by a Mahomedan foundation, to expiate his offences. Be it so; but why should Nobkissin pay for it? We will pass over this also. But when your Lordships shall hear of what nature that foundation was, I believe you will allow that a more extraordinary history never did appear in the world.

In the first place, he stated to the Council on the 18th of April 1781, that in the month of November 1780 a petition was presented to him by a considerable number of Mussulmen; in compliance with which this Mahomedan college appears to have been founded. It next appears from his statement, that in the April following, (that is within about six months after the foundation,) many students had finished their education. You see what a hot bed bribery and corruption is; our universities cannot furnish

an

an education in six years. In India they have completed it within six months and have taken their degrees.

Mr. Hastings says, I have supported this establishment to this time at my own expence, I desire the Company will now defray the charge of it. He then calculates what the expences were; he calculates that the building would cost about 6,000*l.* and he gets from the Company a bond to raise money for paying this 6,000*l.* You apparently have the building now at the publick expence, and Mr. Hastings still stands charged with the expence of the college for six months. He then proposes that a tract of land should be given for the college, to the value of about three thousand odd pounds a year; and that in the mean time there should be a certain sum allotted for its expences. After this Mr. Hastings writes a letter from the Ganges to the Company, in which he says not a word about the expence of the building; but says that the college was founded and maintained at his own expence, though it was thought to be maintained by the Company; and he fixes the commencement of the expence in September 1779. But after all, we find that the very professor who was to be settled there, never so much as arrived in Calcutta, or shewed his face there, till some time afterwards. And look at Mr. Larkins private

vate accounts, and you will find that he charges the expence to have commenced not until October 1781. It is no errour, because it runs through and is so accounted in the whole; and it thus appears, that he has charged, falsely and fraudulently, a year more for that establishment than it cost him.

At last then, when he was coming away, (for I hasten to the conclusion of an affair ludicrous indeed in some respects, but not unworthy of your Lordships' consideration,) "after the mark-
"ing that he had experienced for three years
"the utility of this institution, he recommends
"that they will establish a fund for 3,000 *l.*
"a year for it, and give it to the master." He had left Gunga Govin Sing as a Gentoo legacy, and he now leaves the Mussulman as a Mahomedan legacy to the Company. Your Lordships shall now hear what was the upshot of the whole. The Company soon afterwards hearing that this college was become the greatest nuisance in Calcutta, and that it had raised the cries of all the inhabitants against it; one of their servants, a Mr. Chapman, was deputed by the Governour, Sir John Shore, to examine into it, and your Lordships will find the account he gives of it in your Minutes. In short, my Lords, we find that this was a seminary of robbers, house-breakers, and every nuisance to society, so that the Com-

pany was obliged to turn out the master, and to remodel the whole. Your Lordships will now judge of the merits and value of this, one of the sets-off brought forward by the Prisoner, against the charges which we have brought forward against him; it began in injustice and peculation, and ended in a seminary for robbers and housebreakers.

Nothing now remains to be pressed by me upon your Lordships' consideration, but the account given by the late Governour General Earl Cornwallis, of the state in which he found the country left by his predecessor Mr. Hastings the Prisoner at your bar. But patient as I know your Lordships to be, I also know that your strength is not inexhaustible, and though what I have farther to add will not consume much of your Lordships' time, yet I conceive that there is a necessity for deferring it to another day.

[Adjourned.

TRIAL

OF

WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

MONDAY, JUNE 16th, 1794.

NINTH DAY OF THE REPLY.

(MR. BURKE.)

MY LORDS,

I SHOULD think it necessary to make an apology to your Lordships, for appearing before you one day more, if I were inclined to measure this business, either by the standard of my own ability, or by my own impatience, or by any supposed impatience of yours. I know no measure in such a case, but the nature of the subject and the duty which we owe to it. You will therefore, my Lords, permit me, in a few words, to lead you back to what we did yesterday, that you may the better comprehend the manner in which I mean to conclude the business to-day.

My Lords, we took the liberty of stating to you the condition of Bengal, before our taking

possession of it, and of the several classes of its inhabitants. We first brought before you the Mahomedan inhabitants, who had the judicial authority of the country in their hands; and we proved to you the utter ruin of that body of people, and with them of the justice of the country, by their being both one and the other sold to an infamous woman called Munny Begum. We next shewed you, that the whole landed interest, the zemindars or Hindoo gentry of the country, was likewise ruined by its being given over by letting it on a five years lease to infamous farmers, and giving it up to their merciless exactions; and afterwards by subjecting the rank of those zemindars, their title deeds, and all their pecuniary affairs, to the minutest scrutiny, under pain of criminal punishment, by a commission granted to a nefarious villain called Gunga Govin Sing. We lastly shewed you, that the remaining third class, that of the English, was partly corrupted, or had its authority dissolved, and that the whole superintending English control was subverted or subdued; that the products of the country were diminished, and that the revenues of the Company were dilapidated, by an overcharge of expences in four years, to the amount of 500,000 *l.* in consequence of these corrupt, dangerous, and mischievous projects.

We have farther stated, that the Company's servants

servants were corrupted by contracts and jobs; we proved, that those that were not so corrupted, were removed from their stations or reduced to a state of abject dependence; we shewed you the destruction of the provincial councils; the destruction of the council general; and the formation of a committee for no other ends whatever, but for the purposes of bribery, concealment, and corruption. We next stated some of the most monstrous instances of that bribery; and though we were of opinion, that in none of them any satisfactory defence worth mentioning had been made, yet we have thought that this should not hinder us from recalling to your Lordships' recollection, the peculiar nature and circumstances of one of those proceedings.

The proceedings to which we wish to call your attention, are those belonging to the second bribe given by the Nabob of Oude to Mr. Hastings. Mr. Hastings's own knowledge and opinion, that that money was set apart for his use, either in bills or assets, I have before stated; and I now wish to call your Lordships' minute recollection to the manner in which the fraudulent impeachment of Mr. Middleton, for the purpose of stifling an inquiry into that business, was carried on. Your Lordships will remember that I proved to you, upon the face of that proceeding, the collusive nature of the accusation; and that the

real state of the case was not charged; and that Mr. Hastings acquitted the party accused, of one article of the charge, not upon the evidence of the case, contrary to his own avowed, declared, moral certainty of his guilt, but upon a pretended appeal to the conscience of the man accused. He did not however give him a complete, formal, official acquittal, but referred the matter to the Court of Directors, who could not possibly know any thing of the matter, without one article of evidence whatever produced at the time or transmitted. We lastly proved to you, that, after finding him guilty of five charges, and leaving the other to the Court of Directors, Mr. Hastings, without any reason assigned, appointed him to a great office in the Company's service.

These proceedings were brought before you for two purposes—first, to shew the corrupt principle of the whole proceeding—next, to shew the manner in which the Company's servants are treated. They are accused and persecuted, until they are brought to submit to whatever terms it may be thought proper to impose upon them. They are then formally, indeed, acquitted of the most atrocious crimes charged against them; but virtually condemned upon some articles, with the scourge hung over them; and in some instances rewarded by the greatest, most honourable, and

most

most lucrative situations in the Company's service. My Lords, it is on the same ground of the wicked, pernicious, and ruinous principles of Mr. Hastings's government, that I have charged this with every thing that is chargeable against him, namely, that if your Lordships should ratify those principles by your acquittal of him, they become principles of government; rejected, indeed, by the Commons, but adopted by the Peerage of Great Britain.

There is another article which I have just touched; but which I must do more than barely notice, upon account of the evil example of it—I mean the taking great sums of money, under pretence of an entertainment. Your Lordships will recollect, that when this business was charged against him in India, Mr. Hastings neither affirmed nor denied the fact. Confession could not be there extorted from him. He next appeared before the House of Commons, and he still evaded a denial or a confession of it. He lastly appeared before your Lordships, and in his answer to our charge, he in the same manner evaded either a confession or a denial. He forced us to employ a great part of a Session, in endeavouring to establish what we have at last established, the receipt of the sums first charged, and of seven lacks more by him. At length the proof could not be evaded, and

after we had fought through all the difficulties which the law could interpose in his defence, and of which he availed himself with a degree of effrontery that has, I believe, no example in the world, he confesses, avows, and justifies his conduct. If the custom alleged be well founded, and be an honourable and a proper and just practice, why did he not avow it in every part and progress of our proceedings here? Why should he have put us to the necessity of wasting so many months in the proof of the fact? And why, after we have proved it, and not before, did he confess it, avow it, and even glory in it?

I must remind your Lordships, that the sum charged to be so taken by way of entertainment, made only a part, a single article, of the bribes charged by Nundcomar, to have been received by Mr. Hastings; and when we find him confessing, what he could not deny, that single article, and evading all explanation respecting the others, and not giving any reason whatever, why one was received, and the others rejected, your Lordships will judge of the strong presumption of his having taken them all, even if we had given no other proofs of it. We think, however, that we have proved the whole very satisfactorily. But whether we have, or not, the proof of a single present received is sufficient; because the prin-

ciple

ciple to be established respecting these bribes, is this—Whether, or not, a Governour General, paying a visit to any of the poor miserable dependent creatures, called Sovereign Princes in that country, (men whom Mr. Hastings has himself declared to be nothing but phantoms, and that they had no one attribute of sovereignty about them,) whether, I say, he can consider them to be such sovereign princes, as to justify his taking from them great sums of money by way of a present. The Nabob, in fact, was not a sovereign prince, nor a country power in any sense, but that which the Company meant to exempt from the custom of making presents. It was their design to prevent their servants from availing themselves of the real dependence of the nominal native powers, to extort money from them under the pretence of their sovereignty. Such presents, so far from being voluntary, were in reality obtained from their weakness, their hopeless and unprotected condition; and you are to decide, whether or not, this custom, which is insisted upon by the Prisoner's counsel, with great triumph, to be a thing which he could not evade, without breaking through all the usages of the country, and violating principles established by the most clear law of India, is to be admitted as his justification.

It was on this very account, namely, the extortion

tortion suffered by these people, under the name or pretence of presents, that the Company first bound their servants by a covenant, which your Lordships shall now hear read:—"That they "shall not take any grant of lands, or rents, "or revenues issuing out of lands, or any terri- "torial possession, jurisdiction, dominion, power "or authority whatsoever, from any of the "Indian Princes, Subahs or Nabobs, or any of "their ministers, servants or agents, for any "service or services, or upon any account or "pretence whatsoever, without the licence or "consent of the Court of Directors."

This clause in the covenant had doubtless a regard to Lord Clive, and to Sir Hector Munro, and to some others, who had received gifts, and grants of jaghires and other territorial revenues, that were confirmed by the Company; but though this confirmation might be justifiable at a time when we had no real sovereignty in the country, yet the Company very wisely provided afterwards, that under no pretence whatever, should their servants have the means of extorting from the sovereigns, or pretended sovereigns of the country, any of their lands or possessions. Afterwards it appeared that there existed abuses of a similar nature, and particularly (as was proved before us in the year 1773, and reported to our House, upon the evidence

evidence of Mahomed Reza Khan,) the practice of frequently visiting the princes; and of extorting, under pretence of such visits, great sums of money.—All their servants, and the Governour General particularly, were therefore obliged to enter into the following covenant:—

"That they shall not, directly or indirectly, accept, take or receive, or agree to accept, take or receive, any gift, reward, gratuity, allowance, donation or compensation, in money, effects, jewels or otherwise howsoever, from any of the Indian Princes, Sovereigns, Subahs or Nabobs, or any of their ministers, servants or agents, exceeding the value of 4,000 rupees, for any service or services performed by them in India, or upon any other account or pretence whatsoever."

By this covenant, my Lord, Mr. Hastings is forbidden to accept, upon any pretence, and under any name whatsoever, any sum above 4,000 rupees; that is to say, any sum above four hundred pounds. Now, the sum that was here received, is 18,000*l.* sterling, by way of a present, under the name of an allowance for an entertainment, which is the precise thing which his covenant was made to prevent. The covenant suffered him to receive 400*l.*—if he received more than that money, he became a criminal;

criminal; he had broken his covenant, and forfeited the obligation he had made with his masters. Think with yourselves, my Lords, what you will do, if you acquit the Prisoner of this charge. You will avow the validity, you will sanction the principle of his defence; for as the fact is avowed, there is an end of that.

Good God, My Lords! Where are we? If they conceal their gifts and presents, they are safe by their concealment; if they avow them, they are still safer. They plead the customs of the country, or rather the customs which we have introduced into the country; customs which have been declared to have their foundation in a system of the most abominable corruption, the most flagitious extortion, the most dreadful oppression; those very customs which their covenant is made to abolish. Think where your Lordships are. You have before you a covenant, declaring, that he should take under no name whatever (I do not know how words could be selected in the English language more expressive,) any sum more than 400*l.* He says, I have taken 18,000*l.*; he makes his counsel declare, and he desires your Lordships to confirm their declaration, that he is not only justifiable in so doing, but that he ought to do so; that he ought to break his covenant, and act in direct contradiction to it. He does not even pretend to say,

say, that this money was intended, either inwardly or outwardly, avowedly or covertly, for the Company's service. He put absolutely into his own pocket 18,000 *l.* besides his salary.

Consider, my Lords, the consequences of this species of iniquity. If any servant of the Company, high in station, chooses to make a visit from Calcutta to Morshedabad; which Morshedabad was then the residence of our principal revenue government; if he should choose to take an airing for his health; if he has a fancy to make a little voyage for pleasure as far as Morshedabad, in one of those handsome barges or budgerows, of which you have heard so much in his charge against Nundcomar, he can put 20,000 *l.* into his pocket any day he pleases, in defiance of all our Acts of Parliament, covenants, and regulations.

Do you make your laws, do you make your covenants for the very purpose of their being evaded? Is this the purpose for which a British tribunal sits here, to furnish a subject for an epigram, or a tale for the laughter of the world? Believe me, my Lords, the world is not to be thus trifled with. But, my Lords, you will never trifle with your duty. You have a gross, horrid piece of corruption before you; impudently confessed, and more impudently defended. But you will not suffer Mr. Hastings to say, I have only

only to go to Morshedabad, or to order the Nabob to meet me half way, and I can set aside and laugh at all your covenants and Acts of Parliament. Is this all the force and power of the covenant, by which you would prevent the servants of the Company from committing acts of fraud and oppression; that they have nothing to do but to amuse themselves with a tour of pleasure to Morshedabad, in order to put any sum of money in their pocket that they please?

But they justify themselves by saying,—such things have been practised before. No doubt they have; and these covenants were made that they should not be practised any more. But your Lordships are desired to say, that the very custom which the covenant is made to destroy;—the very grievance itself may be pleaded;—the abuse shall be admitted to destroy the law made to prevent it. It is impossible, I venture to say, that your Lordships should act thus. The conduct of the criminal is not half so abhorrent as the justification is affronting to justice; whilst it tends to vilify and degrade the dignity of the Peerage, and the character of the Commons of Great Britain; before the former and against the latter of which, such a justification is produced in the face of the world.

At the same time that we call for your justice upon this man, we beseech you to remember the severest

severest justice upon him, is the tenderest pity towards the innocent victims of his crimes. Consider what was at that time the state of the people, from whom, in direct defiance of his covenant, he took this sum of money. Were they at this time richer, were they more opulent, was the state of the country more flourishing than when Mr. Sumner, when Mr. Vansittart, in short than when the long line of Mr. Hastings's predecessors visited that country? No, they were not.—Mr. Hastings at this very time had reduced the Nabob's income from 450,000*l.* sterling a year, exclusive of other considerable domains and revenues, to 160,000 *l.* He was indeed an object of compassion. His revenues had not only been reduced, during his state of minority, but they were reduced when he afterwards continued in a state in which he could do no one valid act; and yet, in this state, he was made competent to give away, under the name of compensation for entertainments, the sum of 18,000*l.*; perhaps at that time nearly all he had in the world.

Look at your Minutes, and you will find Mr. Hastings had just before this time said, that the bread of ten thousand persons, many of them of high rank, depended upon the means possessed by the Nabob for their support;—that his heart was cut and afflicted to see himself obliged to ruin and

and starve so many of the Mahomedan nobility; the greatest part of whose yet remaining miserable allowances were now taken away. You know, and you will forgive me again remarking, that it is the nature of the eagles and more generous birds of prey, to fall upon living healthy victims; but that vultures and carrion crows, and birds of that base and degenerate kind, always prey upon dead or dying carcases. It is upon ruined houses; it is upon decayed families; it is upon extinguished nobility, that Mr. Hastings chooses to prey, and to justify his making them his prey.

But again we hear, my Lords, that it is a custom, upon ceremonial and complimentary visits, to receive these presents. Do not let us deceive ourselves. Mr. Hastings was there upon no visit either of ceremony or politicks; he was a member, at that time, of the committee of circuit, which went to Morshedabad for the purpose of establishing a system of revenue in the country; he went up upon that business, only as a member of the committee of circuit, for which business, he was, like other members of the committee of circuit, amply paid, in addition to his emoluments, as governour, which amounted to about 30,000*l.* a year; not satisfied with those emoluments, and without incurring new known expence of any kind or sort, he was paid for the extra expences of his journey, as appears in your Minutes, like

other

other members of the committee of circuit. In fact he was on no visit there at all. He was merely executing his duty in the settlement of the revenue, as a member of the committee of circuit. I do not mean to praise the committee of circuit in any way; God forbid I should; for we know that it was a committee of robbers. He was there as one of that committee, which I am pretty well justified in describing, as I have done, because the Court of Directors, together with the Board of Controul, did, in the year 1786, declare that the five years settlement (which originated in that committee,) was a thing bought and sold; your Lordships may read it whenever you please, in the 80th paragraph of their letter.

Your Lordships are now fully in possession of all the facts, upon which we charge the Prisoner with peculation; by extorting or receiving large sums of money, upon pretence of visits, or in compensation of entertainments. I appeal to your Lordships' consciences for a serious and impartial consideration of our charge. This is a business not to be hurried over in the mass, as amongst the acts of a great man, who may have his little errours among his great services; no, you cannot, as a judicial body, huddle all this into a hotchpotch, and decide upon it in a heap. You will have to ask yourselves, Is this justifiable

by his covenant; is this justifiable by law; is this justifiable under the circumstances of the case, by an enlarged discretion? Is it to be justified under any principles of humanity? Would it be justifiable by local customs, if such were applicable to the case in question; and even if it were, is it a practice fit for an English Governour General to follow?

I dwell the longer upon this, because the fact is avowed; the whole is an issue of law between us; whether a Governour General, in such a case, ought to take such money; and therefore before I finally dismiss it, I beg leave to restate it briefly, once more for your Lordships' consideration.

First I wish to leave fixed in your Lordships' minds, what is distinctly fixed, and shall never go out of ours, that his covenant did not allow him to take above 400*l.* as a present, upon any pretence whatsoever.

Your Lordships will observe, we contend, that if there was a custom, this covenant puts an end to that custom. It was declared, and intended so to do. The fact is, that if such custom existed at all, it was a custom applicable only to an ambassadour or publick minister, sent on a necessary complimentary visit to a sovereign prince. We deny, positively, that there is any such general custom. We say, that he never was

any

any such minister, or that he ever went upon any such complimentary visit. We affirm, that when he took this money, he was doing an act of quite another nature, and came upon that business only to Morshedabad, the residence of the prince of the country. Now, do you call a man, who is going to execute a commission, a commission more severe than those issued against bankrupts; a commission to take away half a man's income, and to starve a whole body of people dependent upon that income; do you call this a complimentary visit? Is this a visit, for which a man is to have great entertainments given him? No; the pretence for taking this money, is worse than the act itself. When a man is going to execute upon another such harsh cruelty; when he is going upon a service, at which he himself says his mind must revolt; is that precisely the time, when he is to take from his undone host, a present; as if he was upon a visit of compliment, or about to confer some honour or benefit upon him, to augment his revenues; to add to his territories, or to conclude some valuable treaty with him? Was this a proper time to take at all from an helpless minor, so large a sum of money? And here I shall leave this matter for your Lordships' consideration, after reminding you, that this poor Nabob is still at Morshedabad, and at the mercy

of any English gentleman, who may choose to take 18,000*l.* or any other given sum of money from him, after the example of the Prisoner at your bar, if it should be sanctioned by your connivance. Far different was the example set him by General Clavering. In page 1269, your Lordships will find the most honourable testimony to the uprightness and fidelity of this meritorious servant of the Company. It runs thus: "Conceiving it to be the intention of the legislature, that the Governour General and Members of the Council should receive no presents, either from the Indian powers, or any persons whatever, he [General Clavering] has strictly complied, since his arrival here, both with the spirit and the letter of the Act of Parliament, and has accordingly returned all the presents which have been made to him." I have dwelt thus long upon this subject, not merely upon account of its own corrupt character, which has been sufficiently stigmatized by my honourable colleague, but upon account of the principle that is laid down by the Prisoner, in his defence of his conduct;—a principle directly leading to a continuance of the same iniquitous practice, and subversive of every attempt to check or controul it.

I must beg leave to recal your Lordships' attention

attention to another, but similar instance of his peculation; another and new mode of taking presents — I mean, the present which Mr. Hastings took through Gunga Govin Sing, from those farmers of the revenues, amongst whom he had distributed the pillage of the whole country. This scandalous breach of his covenant he attempts to justify, by the inward intention of his own mind, to apply the money, so taken, to the publick service. Upon this, my Lords, I shall only observe, that this plea of an inward intention in his own mind, may, if admitted, justify any evil act, whatever, of this kind. You have seen, how presents from the Nabob are justified. You have seen, how the taking a sum of money, or allowance for entertainment, directly contrary to the covenant, how that is attempted to be justified. You see in what manner he justifies this last-mentioned act of peculation, and your Lordships will now have to decide upon the validity of these pleas. There still remains unobserved upon, an instance of his malversation, wholly new in its kind, to which I will venture to desire your Lordships very seriously to turn your attention. In all the causes of peculation, or malversation in office, that ever have been tried before this high court, or before any lower court of judicature; in all the judicial records of modern crimes, or of antiquity, you will

not find any thing, in any degree like it. We have all, in our early education, read the Verrine Orations. We read them, not merely to instruct us, as they will do, in the principles of eloquence, and to acquaint us with the manners, customs, and laws of the ancient Romans, of which they are an abundant repository; but we may read them, from a much higher motive. We may read them, from a motive which the great author had doubtless in his view, when by publishing them, he left to the world and to the latest posterity, a monument, by which it might be seen, what course a great publick accuser, in a great public cause, ought to pursue; and, as connected with it, what course Judges ought to pursue, in deciding upon such a cause. In these Orations, you will find almost every instance of rapacity and peculation, which we charge upon Mr. Hastings. Undoubtedly, many Roman and English governours, have received corrupt gifts and bribes, under various pretences. But in the cause before your Lordships, there is one species of disgrace in the conduct of the party accused, which I defy you to find in Verres, or in the whole tribe of Roman peculators, in any governour general, pro-consul, or viceroy. I desire you to consider it not intended, in any other class of crimes, but as a species apart by itself. It is an individual, a single case; but it

is like the phœnix, it makes a class or species by itself—I mean the business of Nobkissin. The money taken from him, was not money pretended to be received in lieu of entertainment; it was not money taken from a farmer general of revenue, out of an idea that his profits were unreasonable, and greater than government ought to allow; it was not a donation from a great man, as an act of his bounty. No; it was a sum of money taken from a private individual, or rather, as has been proved to you by Mr. Larkins, his own book-keeper, money borrowed, for which he had engaged to give his bond. That he had actually deposited his bond for this money, Mr. Larkins has proved to you; and that the bond was carried to Nobkissin's credit, in his account with the government. But Mr. Hastings, when he was called upon for the money, withdraws the bond; he will not pay the money, he refused to pay it upon the applications made to him, both in India, and here at home; and he now comes to your Lordships, and says, I borrowed this money, I intended to give my bond for it, as has been proved before you; but I must have it for my own use. We have heard of governours being every thing that is bad and wicked; but a governour putting himself in the situation of a common cheat, of a common swindler, never was, I believe, heard of, since the creation of the world,

to this day. This does not taste of the common oppressions of power; this does not taste of the common abuses of office; but it in no way differs from one of those base swindling cases that come to be tried, and heavily punished in the King's Bench every day. This is, neither more nor less, than a plain barefaced cheat.

Now, my Lords, let us see how it is justified. To justify openly and directly a cheat;—to justify a fraud upon an individual, is reserved for our times. But good Heavens, what a justification have we here! Oh, my Lords, consider into what a state Indian corruption has brought us in this country, when any person can be found to come to the bar of the House of Lords, and say, I did cheat; I did defraud; I did promise and gave my bond, I have now withdrawn it; but I will account for it to you as to a gang of robbers concerned with me in the transaction. I confess I robbed this man, but I have acted as trustee for the gang. Observe what I have done for the gang; come forward Mr. Auriel, and prove what handsome budgerows I gave the Company; were not they elegantly painted, beautifully gilt, charming and commodious? I made use of them as long as I had occasion; and, though they are little worse for wear, and would hardly suffer the least percentage deduction from prime cost upon them, I

gave

gave them to the Company. Oh, I did not put the money into my own pocket; I provided for myself, and wore a suit of lace clothes, when I was Jew bail for some of this Company, it will burn, for it is hardly the worse for wear, though I appeared two or three times in different characters, as bail for you on such and such an occasion; I therefore set off these items against this money, which I gained by swindling on your account. It is true I also picked such a one's pocket of a watch; here it is; I have worn it as long as it was convenient; now I give the watch to the Company, and let them send it to the pawnbroker for what it will bring. Besides all this, I maintained aid-de-camps for you, and gave them house rent, (by the way, my Lords, what sort of aid-de-camps were these? Who made him a military man, and to have such a legion of aid-de-camps?) But, says he, I paid house rent for them; that is, in other words, I paid at night cellars and houses in Saint Giles's, sixpence a week for some of the gang. (This, my Lords, is the real spirit of the whole proceeding, and more especially of the last item in it.) Then, says he, I was the gang's schoolmaster, and taught lessons on their account. I founded a Mahomedan school; (your Lordships have already heard something of this shameful affair, of this scene of iniquity, I think of such

iniquity

iniquity as the world never yet had to blush at.) I founded a Mahomedan college for your use, and I bore the expence of it from September 1780, when I placed a professor there called Muged O'den. This Muged O'den was to perfect men by contract, in all the arts and sciences, in about six months; and the chief purpose of the school was, as Mr. Hastings himself tells you, to breed theologians, magistrates and molavies, that is to say, judges and doctors of law, who were to be something like our masters in Chancery, the assessors of judges, to assist them in their judgments. Such was the college founded by Mr. Hastings, and he soon afterwards appropriated one of the Company's estates (I am speaking of matters of publick notoriety) worth 3,000 *l.* a year, for its support. Heaven be praised that Mr. Hastings, when he was resolved to be pious and munificent, and to be a great founder, chose a Mahomedan rather than a Christian foundation; so that our religion was not disgraced by such a foundation.

Observe how he charges the expence of the foundation to the Company twice over—he first makes them set aside an estate of 3,000*l.* a year for its support. In what manner this income was applied during Mr. Hastings's stay in India, no man living knows; but we know that at his departure, one of the last acts he did, was to desire

it

it should be put into the hands of Muged O'den. He afterwards, as you have seen, takes credit to himself with the Company, for the expences relative to this college. I must now introduce your Lordships to the last visitation that was made of this college. It was visited by order of Lord Cornwallis, in the year 1788, upon the complaints made against it, which I have already mentioned to your Lordships; that it was a sink of filth, vermin, and misery. Mr. Chowman, who was the visitor, and the friend of Mr. Hastings, declares that he could not sit in it even for a few minutes; his words are, "The wretched, squalid figures, that from every part ran out upon me, appeared to be more like any thing else than students." In fact a universal outcry was raised by the whole city against it, not only as a receptacle of every kind of abuse; not only of filth and excrements, which made it stink in the natural nostrils, but of worse filth, which made it insufferably offensive to the moral nostrils of every inhabitant. Such is the account given of a college supported at an expence of 3,000*l.* a year, (a handsome foundation for a college) and for building which, the Company was charged 5,000*l.*; though no vouchers of its expenditure were ever given by Mr. Hastings. But this is not all. When Lord Cornwallis came to inquire into it, he found that Muged O'den had

had sunk the income of the estate from 3,000 *l.* to 2,000 *l.* a year. In short, that it had been a scene of peculation, both by the masters and scholars, as well as of abandonment to every kind of vicious and licentious courses; and all this without the shadow of any benefit having been derived from it. The visitors expressly inquired, whether there was any good mixed with all this evil; and they found it was all bad and mischievous, from one end to the other. Your Lordships will remark, that the greatest part of this disgusting business must have been known to Mr. Hastings when he gave to Muged O'den the disposal of 3,000 *l.* a year.—And now, my Lords, can you vote this money, expended in the manner which I have stated to you, to be a set-off in his favour, in an account for money which was itself swindled from a private individual?

But there still remains behind another more serious matter belonging to this affair, and I hope you will not think that I am laying too much stress upon it, when I declare, that if I were to select from the whole of his conduct one thing more dishonourable than another to the British nation, it would be that which I am now about to mention. I will leave your Lordships to judge of the sincerity of this declaration, when you shall have heard read a paper produced by the

Prisoner,

Prisoner, in justification of conduct, such as I have stated his to have been. It is the razynama, or attestation of Munny Begum, (the woman whom Mr. Hastings placed in the seat of justice in that country) concerning this college, made precisely at the time of this inquisition by Lord Cornwallis, into the management of it. Your Lordships will see what sort of things attestations are from that country; that they are attestations procured in diametrical contradiction to the certain knowledge of the party attesting. It is in page 2350 of your Minutes. Indeed, my Lords, these are pages, which, unless they are effaced by your judgment, will rise up in judgment against us, some day or other.

" He [Mr. Hastings] respected the learned " and wise men, and in order for the propaga- " tion of learning, he built a college, and en- " dowed it with a provision for the maintenance " of the students, insomuch that thousands reap- " ing the benefits thereof offer up their prayers " for the prosperity of the King of England, " and for the success of the Company."

I must here remind your Lordships of another attestation of the same character, and to the same effect. It comes from Mahomed Reza Khan, who, as your Lordships will remember, had

had been reduced by Mr. Hastings from a situation of the highest rank and authority, with an income of suitable magnitude, to one of comparative insignificance, with a small salary annexed. This man is made to disgrace himself, and to abet the disgrace and injury done to his country, by bearing his testimony to the merits of this very college.

I hope your Lordships will never lose sight of this aggravating circumstance of the Prisoner's criminality; namely, that you never find any wicked, fraudulent, and criminal act, in which you do not find the persons who suffered by it, and must have been well acquainted with it, to be the very persons who are brought to attest in its favour. O Heaven! but let shame for one moment veil its face; let indignation suppress its feelings, whilst I again call upon you to view all this as a mere swindling transaction, in which the Prisoner was attempting to defraud the Company. Mr. Hastings has declared, and you will find it upon the Company's records, that this institution (which cost the Company not less than 40,000 *l.* in one way or other) did not commence before October, in the year 1780; and he brings it before the Board in April 1781, that is about six months after its foundation. Now look at his other account, in which he makes it to begin in the year 1779, and in which he has

therefore

therefore overcharged the expences of it a whole year; but Mr. Larkins, who kept this latter account for him, may have been inaccurate. Good Heavens, where are we! Mr. Hastings, who was bred an accountant, who was bred in all sorts of trade and business, declares that he keeps no accounts. Then comes Mr. Larkins, who keeps an account for him; but he keeps a false account. Indeed, all the accounts from India, from one end to another, are nothing but a series of fraud, while Mr. Hastings was concerned in them. Mr. Larkins, who keeps his private account just as his master kept the publick accounts, has swindled from the Company a whole year's expences of this college. I should not thus repeatedly dwell upon this transaction, but because I wish your Lordships to be cautious how you admit such accounts at all to be given in evidence, into the truth of which you cannot penetrate in any regular way. Upon the face of the two accounts there is a gross fraud. It is no matter which is true or false; as it is an account which you are in no situation to decide upon. I lay down this as a fixed judicial rule, that no judge ought to receive an account (which is as serious a part of a judicial proceeding as can be) the correctness of which he has no means of ascertaining, but must depend upon the sole word of the accountant.

Having

Having stated therefore the nature of the offence, which differs nothing from a common dog-trot fraud, such as we see amongst the meanest of mankind;—your Lordships will be cautious how you admit these, or any other of his pretended services, to be set off against his crimes. These stand on record confessed before you; the former, of which you can form no just estimate, and into which you cannot enter, rest for their truth upon his own assertions; and they all are found, upon the very face of them, to carry marks of fraud as well as of wickedness.

I have only further to observe to your Lordships, that this Muged O'den, who, under the patronage of Mr. Hastings, was to do all these wonders, Lord Cornwallis turned out of his office, with every mark of disgrace, when he attempted to put into some more respectable state, that establishment which Mr. Hastings had made a sink of abuse.

I here conclude all that I have to say upon this business, trusting that your Lordships will feel yourselves more offended, and justice more insulted by the defence, than by the criminal acts of the Prisoner at your bar; and that your Lordships will concur with us in thinking, that to make this unhappy people make these attestations, knowing the direct contrary of every word which they say to be the truth, is a shocking

ing aggravation of his guilt. I say they must know it. For Lord Cornwallis tells you, it is notorious; and if you think fit to inquire into it, you will find that it was unusually notorious.

My Lords, we have now brought to a conclusion our observation upon the effects produced by that mass of oppressions which we have stated and proved before your Lordships; namely, its effects upon the revenues, and upon the publick servants of the Company. We have shewn you how greatly the former were diminished, and in what manner the latter were reduced to the worst of all bad states, a state of subserviency to the will of the Governour General. I have shewn your Lordships that in this state they were not only rendered incapable of performing their own duty, but were fitted for the worst of all purposes, co-operation with him in the perpetration of his criminal acts, and collusion with him in the concealment of them. I have lastly to speak of these effects, as they regard the general state and welfare of the country. And here your Lordships will permit me to read the evidence given by Lord Cornwallis, a witness called by the Prisoner at your bar, Mr. Hastings himself.

The evidence of Lord Cornwallis, page 2721:
Q. "Whether your Lordship recollects an ac-

" count that you have given to the Court of " Directors, in your letter of the 2d of August " 1789, concerning the state of those pro- " vinces? *A.* I really could not venture to " be particular as to any letter I may have " written so long since, as I have brought no " copies of my letters with me from India, " having left them at Bengal when I went to " the coast.—*Q.* Whether your Lordship recol- " lects in any letter, that you wrote about the " 2d of August 1789, paragraph 18, any expres- " sions to this effect, namely, ' I am sorry to " be obliged to say, that agriculture and in- " ternal commerce have, for many years, been " gradually declining, and that at present, ex- " cepting the class of shroffs and banyans, who " reside almost entirely in great towns, the " inhabitants of these provinces were advancing " hastily to a general state of poverty and " wretchedness;' whether your Lordship recol- " lects that you have written a letter to that " effect? *A.* " I cannot take upon me to recol- " lect the words of a letter that I have written " five years ago, but I conclude I must have " written to that effect.—*Q.* Whether your Lord- " ship recollects, that in the immediately fol- " lowing paragraph, the 19th, you wrote to this " effect: ' In this description, namely the fore- " gone description, I must even include almost

" every

" every zemindar in the Company's territories,
" which, though it may have been partly occa-
" sioned by their own indolence and extra-
" vagance, I am afraid must also be in a great
" measure attributed to the defects of our
" former system of management, paragraph 20.
" The settlement, in conformity to your orders,
" will only be made for ten years certain, with
" the notification of its being your intention to
" declare it a perpetual, an unalterable assess-
" ment of these provinces, if the amount and
" the principles upon which it has been made
" should meet with your approbation;' whether
" your Lordship recollects to have written some-
" thing to the effect of these two last paragraphs
" as well as of the first? *A.* I do recollect that
" I did write it; but in that letter I alluded to
" the former system of annual assessments.
" —*Q.* Whether your Lordship recollects, that
" you wrote on or about the 18th of September
" 1789, in one of your Minutes, thus, 'I may
" safely assert, that one third of the Company's
" territory in Indostan, is now a jungle inhabited
" only by wild beasts; will a ten years lease
" induce any proprietor to clear away that
" jungle, and encourage the rajot to come and
" cultivate his lands, when at the end of that
" lease he must either submit to be taxed *ad*
" *libitum* for the newly cultivated lands, or lose

" all hopes of deriving any benefit from his " labour, for which perhaps by that time he " will hardly be repaid?' whether your Lordship " recollects a Minute to that effect? *A.* I per- " fectly recollect to have written that Minute. " —*Q.* Now with respect to a letter, dated No- " vember the 3d, 1788, paragraph 38, containing " the following sentiments: 'I shall therefore " only remark in general, that from frequent " changes of system or other reasons, much is " wanting to establish good order and regula- " tions in the internal business of the country; " and, that from various causes, by far the " greatest part of the zemindars, and other " landholders and renters, are fallen into a state " much below that of wealth and affluence; this " country, however, when the fertility of its " soil, and the industry and ingenuity of its " numerous inhabitants are taken into consi- " deration, must unquestionably be admitted " to be one of the finest in the world; and, " with the uniform attention of government to " moderation in exaction, and to a due admi- " nistration of justice, may long prove a source " of great riches both to the Company and to " Britain. Paragraph 39, I am persuaded, that " by a train of judicious measures, the land " revenue of these provinces is capable in time " of being increased; but consistent with the

" principles

" principles of humanity, and even those of your
" own interest, it is only by adopting measures
" for the gradual cultivation and improvement
" of these waste lands, and by a gentle and
" cautious plan for the resumption of lands that
" have been fraudulently alienated, that it ought
" ever to be attempted to be accomplished.
" Men of speculative and sanguine dispositions,
" and others, either from the ignorance of the
" subject, or with views of recommending them-
" selves to your favour, may confidently hold
" forth specious grounds to encourage you to
" hope, that a great and immediate accession to
" that branch of your revenue might be prac-
" ticable; my publick duty obliges me to cau-
" tion you, in the most serious manner, against
" listening to propositions which recommend
" this attempt, because I am clearly convinced,
" that if carried into execution they would be
" attended with the most baneful consequences.
" Paragraph 40. Desperate adventurers, with-
" out fortune or character, would undoubtedly
" be found, as has already been too often expe-
" rienced, to rent the different districts of the
" country at the highest rates that could be put
" upon them; that the delusion would be of a
" short duration, and the impolicy and inhu-
" manity of the plan would, when perhaps too
" late for effectual remedy, become apparent by

" the complaints of the people and the disap-
" pointments at the treasury in the payments
" of the revenue, and would probably terminate
" in the ruin and depopulation of the unfortu-
" nate country;' whether your Lordship recol-
" lects to have written any thing to that effect
" about that time? *A.* I perfectly recollect
" having written the extracts that have been
" read."

My Lords, Lord Cornwallis has been called, he has been examined before you. We stopped our proceedings ten days for the purpose of taking his evidence. We do not regret this delay; and he has borne the testimony which you have heard, to the effects of Mr. Hastings's government; of a country once the most fertile and cultivated; of a people the most industrious, flourishing, and happy; that the one was wasted and desolated, the other reduced to a condition of want and misery; and that the zemindars, that is the nobility and gentry of the country, were so beggared, as not to be able to give even a common, decent education to their children, notwithstanding the foundation of Mr. Hastings's colleges. You have heard this noble person, who had been an eye-witness of what he relates, supplicating for their relief, and expressly stating, that most of the complicated miseries, and perhaps

haps the cruelest of the afflictions they endured, arose from the management of the country having been taken out of the hands of its natural rulers, and given up to Mr. Hastings's farmers, namely, the banyans of Calcutta. These are the things that ought to go to your Lordships' hearts. You see a country wasted and desolated. You see a third of it become a jungle for wild beasts. You see the other parts oppressed by persons in the form and shape of men, but with all the character and disposition of beasts of prey. This state of the country is brought before you, and by the most unexceptionable evidence, being brought forward through Mr. Hastings himself. This evidence, whatever opinion you may entertain of the effrontery or of the impudence of the criminal who has produced it, is of double and treble force. And yet at the very time when Lord Cornwallis is giving this statement of the country and its inhabitants, at the very time when he is calling for pity upon their condition, are these people brought forward to bear testimony to the benign and auspicious government of Mr. Hastings, directed, as your Lordships know it was, by the merciful and upright Gunga Govin Sing.

My Lords, you have now the evidence of Lord Cornwallis on the one hand, and the razanamas of India on the other. But before I dismiss this

part of my subject, I must call your Lordships' attention to another authority; to a declaration strictly speaking, *legal*, of the state to which our Indian provinces were reduced, and of the oppressions, which they have suffered during the government of Mr. Hastings; I speak of the Act 24 Geo. 3. cap. 25: intituled, "An Act "for the better Regulation and Management of "the Affairs of the *East India* Company, and "of the *British* Possessions in *India*; and for "establishing a Court of Judicature for the "more speedy and effectual Trial of Persons "accused of Offences committed in the *East* "*Indies*:" § 39.

My Lords, here is an Act of Parliament; here are regulations enacted in consequence of an inquiry which had been directed to be made into the grievances of India for the redress of them. This Act of Parliament declares the existence of oppressions in the country. What oppressions were they? The oppressions which it suffered by being let out to the farmers of the Company's revenues. Who was the person that sold these revenues to the farmers? Warren Hastings. By whom were these oppressions notified to the Court of Directors? By Lord Cornwallis. Upon what occasion were these letters written by my Lord Cornwallis? They were answers to inquiries made by the Court of Directors, and

ordered by an Act of Parliament to be made. The existence then of the grievances, and the cause of them, are expressly declared in an Act of Parliament. It orders an inquiry, and Lord Cornwallis, in consequence of that inquiry, transmits to the Court of Directors this very information; he gives you this identical state of the country; so that it is consolidated, mixed and embodied with an Act of Parliament itself, which no power on earth, I trust, but the power that made it, can shake. I trust, I say, that neither we the Commons, nor you the Lords, nor his Majesty the sovereign of this country, can shake one word of this Act of Parliament,—can invalidate the truth of its declaration, or the authority of the persons, men of high honour and character, that made that inquiry and this report. Your Lordships must repeal this Act in order to acquit Mr. Hastings.

But Mr. Hastings and his counsel have produced evidence against this Act of Parliament, against the order of the Court of Directors, by which an inquiry and report were made under that Act, against Lord Cornwallis's return, to that inquiry; and now, once for all, hear what the miserable wretches are themselves made to say, to invalidate the Act of Parliament, to invalidate the authority of the Court of Directors, to invalidate the evidence of an official return of

Lord

Lord Cornwallis under the Act. Pray hear what these miserable creatures describe as an Elysium, speaking with rapture of their satisfaction under the government of Mr. Hastings.

" All we Zemindars, Choudries, and Talook-
" dars of the district of Akbarnagur, commonly
" called Raje Mhal, in the kingdom of Bengal,
" have heard, that the gentlemen in England
" are displeased with Mr. Hastings, on suspicion
" that he oppressed us inhabitants of this place,
" took our money by deceit and force, and ruined
" the country; therefore we, upon the strength
" of our religion and religious tenets, which we
" hold as a duty upon us, and in order to act
" conformable to the duties of God, in deliver-
" ing evidence, relate the praiseworthy actions,
" full of prudence and rectitude, friendship and
" politeness of Mr. Hastings, possessed of great
" abilities and understanding, and by represent-
" ing facts, remove the doubts that have pos-
" sessed the minds of the gentlemen in England;
" —that Mr. Hastings distributed protection
" and security to religion, and kindness and
" peace to all; he is free from the charge of
" embezzlement and fraud, and that his heart is
" void of covetousness and avidity: during the
" period of his government, no one experienced
" from him other than protection and justice,
" never

" never having felt hardships from him, nor did " the poor ever know the weight of an oppres- " sive hand from him.

" Our characters and reputations have always " been guarded in quiet from attack by the " vigilance of his power and foresight, and pre- " served by the terrour of his justice; he never " omitted the smallest instance of kindness and " goodness towards us and those entitled to it, " but always applied by soothings and mildness " the salve of comfort to the wounds of affliction, " not allowing a single person to be overwhelmed " by despair; he displayed his friendship and " kindness to all; he destroyed the power of the " enemies and wicked men by the strength of his " terrour; he tied the hands of tyrants and op- " pressors by his justice, and by this conduct he " secured happiness and joy to us; he re-esta- " blished the foundation of justice, and we at all " times, during his government, lived in comfort " and passed our days in peace; we are many, " many of us satisfied and pleased with him. As " Mr. Hastings was perfectly well acquainted " with the manners and customs of these coun- " tries, he was always desirous of performing " that which would tend to the preservation of " our religion, and of the duties of our sects, " and guard the religious customs of each from " the effects of misfortune and accidents; in

" every

" every sense he treated us with attention and " respect; we have represented, without deceit, " what we have ourselves seen, and the facts " that happened from him."—This, my Lords, is in page 2374 of the printed Minutes.

My Lords, we spare you the reading of a great number of these attestations; they are all written in the same style; and it must appear to your Lordships a little extraordinary, that as they are said to be totally voluntary, as the people are represented to be crowding to make these testimonials, there should be such an unison in the heart to produce a language that is so uniform, as not to vary so much as in a single tittle; that every part of the country, every province, every district, men of every cast, and of every religion, should all unite in expressing their sentiments in the very same words, and in the very same phrases. I must fairly say, it is a kind of miraculous concurrence, a miraculous gratitude. Mr. Hastings says, that gratitude is lost in this part of the world. There it blooms and flourishes, in a way not to be described. In proportion as you hear of the miseries and distresses of these very people, in the same proportion do they express their comfort and satisfaction, and that they never knew what a grievance was of any sort. Lord Cornwallis finds

finds them aggrieved, the Court of Directors find them aggrieved, the Parliament of Great Britain find them aggrieved, and the Court here find them aggrieved, but they never found themselves aggrieved. Their being turned out of house and home, and having all their land given to farmers of revenue for five years to riot in, and despoil them of all they had, is what fills them with rapture. They are the only people, I believe, upon the face of the earth, that have no complaints to make of their government, in any instance whatever. Theirs must be something superior to the government of angels, for I verily believe, that if one out of the choir of the heavenly angels were sent to govern the earth, such is the nature of man, that many would be found discontented with it. But these people have no complaint, they feel no hardships, no sorrow; Mr. Hastings has realized more than the golden age. I am ashamed for human nature, I am ashamed for our government, I am ashamed for this court of justice, that these things are brought before us; but here they are, and we must observe upon them.

My Lords, we have done on our part; we have made out our case; and it only remains for me to make a few observations upon what Mr. Hastings has thought proper to put forward in his Defence. Does he meet our case with any

thing

thing but these general attestations, upon which I must first remark, that there is not one single matter of fact touched upon in them; your Lordships will observe, and you may hunt them out through the whole body of your Minutes, that you do not find a single fact mentioned in any of them. But there is an abundance of panegyrick, and if we were doing nothing but making satires, as the newspapers charge us with doing against Mr. Hastings, panegyrick would be a good answer.

But Mr. Hastings sets up pleas of merit upon this occasion; now, undoubtedly no plea of merit can be admitted to extinguish, as your Lordships know very well, a direct charge of crime; merit cannot extinguish crime; for instance, if Lord Howe, to whom this country owes so much as it owes this day for the great and glorious victory which makes our hearts glad, and I hope will ensure the security of this country; yet if Lord Howe, I say, was charged with embezzling the King's stores, or applying them in any manner unbecoming his situation, to any shameful or scandalous purpose; if he was accused of taking advantage of his station to oppress any of the captains of his ships; if he was stated to have gone into a port of the allies of this country, and to have plundered the inhabitants, to have robbed their women, and broken into the recesses

of

of their apartments; if he had committed atrocities like these, his glorious victory could not change the nature and quality of such acts.

My Lord Malmesbury has been lately sent to the King of Prussia, we hope and trust that his embassy will be successful, and that this country will derive great benefit from his negotiations; but if Lord Malmesbury, from any subsidy that was to be paid to the King of Prussia, was to put 50,000*l.* in his own pocket, I believe that his making a good and advantageous treaty with the King of Prussia, would never be thought a good defence for him. We admit, that if a man has done great and eminent services, though they cannot be a defence against a charge of crimes, and cannot obliterate them; yet when sentence comes to be passed upon such a man, you will consider first, whether his transgressions were common lapses of human frailty, and whether the nature and weight of the grievances resulting from them, were light in comparison with the services performed. I say that you cannot acquit him. But your Lordships might think some pity due to him, that might mitigate the severity of your sentence. In the second place, you would consider whether the evidence of the services alleged to be performed, was as clear and undoubted as that of the crimes charged. I confess that if a man has done great services,

services, it may be some alleviation of lighter faults, but then they ought to be urged as such,—with modesty, with humility, with confession of the faults, and not with a proud and insolent defiance. They should not be stated as proofs that he stands justified in the eye of mankind, for committing unexampled and enormous crimes. Indeed humility, suppliant guilt, always makes impression in our bosoms; so that when we see it before us, we always remember that we are all frail men; and nothing but a proud defiance of law and justice can make us forget this for one moment. I believe the Commons of Great Britain, and I hope the persons that speak to you, know very well how to allow for the faults and frailties of mankind equitably.

Let us now see what are the merits which Mr. Hastings has set up against the just vengeance of his country, and against his proved delinquencies. From the language of the Prisoner, and of his counsel, you would imagine some great, known, acknowledged services had been done by him. Your Lordships recollect that most of these presumed services have been considered, and we are persuaded justly considered as in themselves crimes. He wishes your Lordships to suppose and believe, that these services were put aside, either because we could not prove the facts against him, or could not make

out

out that they were criminal, and consequently that your Lordships ought to presume them to have been meritorious; and this is one of the grounds upon which he demands to be acquitted of the charges that have been brought forward and proved against him. Finding in our proceedings, and recorded upon our Journals, an immense mass of criminality with which he is charged; and finding that we had selected, as we were bound to select, such parts as might be most conveniently brought before your Lordships, (for to have gone through the whole would have been nearly impossible,) he takes all the rest that we have left behind and have not brought here as charges, and converts them, by a strange metamorphosis, into merits.

My Lords, we must insist, on the part of the House of Commons, we must conjure your Lordships, for the honour of a co-ordinate branch of the legislature, that whenever you are called upon to admit what we have condemned as crimes, to be merits, you will at least give us an opportunity of being heard upon the matter; that you will not suffer Mr. Hastings, when attempting to defend himself against our charges, in an indirect and oblique manner, to condemn or censure the House of Commons itself, as having misrepresented to be crimes, the acts of a meritorious servant of the public. Mr. Has-

tings has pleaded a variety of merits, and every one of these merits, without the exception of one of them, have been either directly censured by the House of Commons, and censured as a ground for legislative provision, or they remain upon the records of the House of Commons, with the vouchers for them, and proofs; and though we have not actually come to the question upon every one of them, we had come before the year 1782, to forty-five direct resolutions upon his conduct. These resolutions were moved by a person to whom this country is under many obligations, and whom we must always mention with honour, whenever we are speaking of high situations in this country, and of great talents to support them, and of long publick services in the House of Commons. I mean Mr. Dundas, then Lord Advocate of Scotland, and now one of the principal Secretaries of State, and at the head, and worthily and deservedly at the head of the East Indian department. This distinguished statesman moved forty-five resolutions, the major part of them directly condemning these very acts which Mr. Hastings has pleaded as his merits, as being delinquencies and crimes. All that the House of Commons implore of your Lordships, is, that you will not take these things, which we call crimes, to be merits, without hearing the House

of

of Commons upon the subject-matter of them. I am sure you are too noble and too generous, as well as too just and equitable, to act in such a manner.

The first thing that Mr. Hastings brings forward in his defence is, that whereas the Company were obliged to pay a certain tribute to the Mogul, in consideration of a grant by which the Moguls gave to us the legal title under which we hold the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; he did stop the payment of that tribute or acknowledgment, small as it was; that though bound by a treaty recognised by the Company, and recognised by the nation; though bound by the very sunnud by which he held the very office he was exercising, yet he had broken the treaty, and refused to pay the stipulated acknowledgment. Where are we, my Lords? Is this merit? Good God Almighty! the greatest blockhead, the most ignorant miserable wretch, a person without either virtue or talents, has nothing to do but to order a clerk to strike a pen through such an account, and then to make a merit of it to you. Oh! says he, I have by a mere breach of your faith, by a single dash of my pen, saved you all this money, which you were bound to pay. I have exonerated you from the payment of it. I have gained you 250,000*l.* a year for ever. Will you not reward a person

who did you such a great and important service, by conniving a little at his delinquencies?

But the House of Commons will not allow that this was a great and important service; on the contrary, they have declared the act itself to be censurable. There is our resolution—Resolution the 7th; "That the conduct of the "Company and their servants in India to the "King (meaning the Mogul king,) and Nudjiff "Cawn, with respect to the tribute payable to "the one, and stipend to the other, and with "respect to the transfer of the provinces of "Corah and Illahabad to the Vizier, was con-"trary to policy and good faith; and that such "wise and practicable measures should be "adopted in future as may tend to redeem the "national honour, and recover the confidence "and attachment of the princes of India."

This act of injustice, against which we have fulminated the thunder of our resolutions as a heavy crime—as a crime that dishonoured the nation, and which measures ought to be taken to redress, this man has the insolence to bring before your Lordships as a set-off against the crimes we charge him with. This outrageous defiance of the House of Commons; this outrageous defiance of all the laws of his country, I hope your Lordships will not countenance. You will not let it pass for nothing. On the contrary,

contrary, you will consider it as aggravating, heavily, his crimes: and, above all, you will not suffer him to set off this, which we have declared to be injurious to our national honour and credit, and which he himself does not deny to be a breach of the publick faith—against other breaches of the public faith with which we charge him;—or to justify one class of publick crimes, by proving that he has committed others.

Your Lordships see, that he justifies this crime upon the plea of its being profitable to the Company; but he shall not march off even on this ground with flying colours. My Lords, pray observe in what manner he calculates these profits. Your Lordships will find, that he makes up the account of them much in the same manner as he made up the account of Nobkissin's money. There is, indeed, no account which he has ever brought forth, that does not carry upon it, not only ill faith and national dishonour, but direct proofs of corruption. When Mr. Hastings values himself upon this shocking and outrageous breach of faith, which required nothing but a base and illiberal mind, without either talents, courage or skill, except that courage which defies all consequences; which defies shame, which defies the judgment and opinion of his country and of mankind; no other talents

than may be displayed by the dash of a pen; you will, at least, expect to see a clear and distinct account of what was gained by it.

In the year 1775, at a period when Mr. Hastings was under an eclipse, when honour and virtue, in the character of General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis sat for a short period at the Council Board; during that time, Mr. Hastings's conduct upon this occasion was called into question. They called for an account of the revenues of the country; what was received, and what had been paid; and in the account returned, they found the amount of the tribute due to the Mogul, 250,000*l.* entered as paid up to October 1774. Thus far all appeared fair upon the face of it; they took it for granted, as your Lordships would take it for granted, at the first view, that the tribute in reality had been paid up to the time stated. The books were balanced; you find a debtor; you find a creditor; every item posted in as regular a manner as possible. Whilst they were examining this account, a Mr. Croftes, of whom your Lordships have heard very often, as accountant general, comes forward and declares, that there was a little errour in the account. And what was the errour? That he had entered the Mogul's tribute for one year more than it had actually been paid. Here we have the small errour of a payment to the

Mogul of 250,000*l.* This appeared strange.—Why, says Mr. Croftes, I never discovered it; nor was it ever intimated to me that it had been stopped from October 1773, till the other day, when I was informed, that I ought not to have made an entry of the last payments. These were his expressions. You will find the whole relation in the Bengal Appendix (printed by the orders of the Court of Directors.) When Mr. Croftes was asked a very natural question, Who first told you of your mistake? Who acquainted you with Mr. Hastings's orders, that the payment should be expunged from the account?—What is his answer? It is an answer worthy of Mr. Middleton, an answer worthy of Mr. Larkings, or of any of the other white banyans of Mr. Hastings: O! I have forgotten. Here you have an accountant general kept in ignorance, or who pretends to be ignorant of so large a payment as 250,000*l.*; who enters it falsely in his account; and when asked, who apprized him of his mistake, says, that he has really forgotten.

Oh, my Lords, what resources there are in oblivion, what resources there are in bad money; no genius ever has done so much for mankind as this mental defect has done for Mr. Hastings's accountants. It was said by one of the ancient philosophers, to a man who proposed to teach people memory—"I wish you could teach me

" oblivion; I wish you could teach me to for-
" get." These people have certainly not been taught the art of memory, but they appear perfect masters of the art of forgetting. My Lords, this is not all; and I must request your Lordships' attention to the whole of the account, as it appears in the account of the arrears due to the king, annexed to your Minutes. Here is a kind of labyrinth, where fraud runs into fraud. On the credit side you find stated there, eight lacks paid to the Vizier, and to be taken from the Mogul's tribute, for the support of an army, of which he himself had stipulated to bear the whole expences. These eight lacks are thus fraudulently accounted for upon the face of the thing; and with respect to eighteen lacks, the remainder of the tribute, there is no account given of it at all. This sum, Mr. Hastings must, therefore, have pocketed for his own use, or that of his gang of peculators; and whilst he was pretending to save you eight lacks by one fraud, he committed another fraud of eighteen lacks for himself; and this is the method by which one act of peculation begets another in the economy of fraud.

Thus much of these affairs I think myself bound to state to your Lordships upon this occasion; for although, not one word has been produced by the counsel to support the alle-

gations

gations of the Prisoner at your bar; yet, knowing that your Lordships, high as you are, are still but men; knowing also, that bold assertions and confident declarations are apt to make some impression upon all men's minds, we oppose his allegations. But how do we oppose them?—Not by things of the like nature. We oppose them, by shewing you, that the House of Commons, after diligent investigation, has condemned them, and by stating the grounds upon which the House founded its condemnation. We send you to the records of the Company, if you want to pursue this matter further, to enlighten your own minds upon the subject. Do not think, my Lords, that we are not aware how ridiculous it is for either party, the accuser or the accused, to make here any assertions without producing vouchers for them: we know it; but we are prepared and ready to take upon us the proof; and we should be ashamed to assert any thing, that we are not able directly to substantiate, by an immediate reference to uncontradicted evidence.

With regard to the merits pleaded by the Prisoner, we could efface that plea with a single stroke, by saying, there is no evidence before your Lordships, of any such merits. But we have done more: We have shewn you, that the

things which he has set up as merits, are atrocious crimes, and that there is not one of them which does not, in the very nature and circumstances of it, carry evidence of base corruption, as well as of flagrant injustice, and notorious breach of publick faith.

The next thing that he takes credit for, is precisely an act of this description. The Mogul had, by solemn stipulation with the Company, a royal domain insured to him, consisting of two provinces, Corah and Allahabad. Of both these provinces Mr. Hastings deprived the Mogul upon weak pretences, if proved, in point of fact, but which were never proved, in any sense, against him. I allude particularly to his alleged alliance with the Mahrattas, a people, by the way, with whom we were not then at war, and with whom he had as good a right, as Nudjeive Khan, to enter into alliance at that time. He takes these domains, almost the last wrecks of empire left to the descendant of Tamerlane, from the man, I say, to whose voluntary grants we owe it that we have put a foot in Bengal. Surely we ought, at least, to have kept our faith in leaving this last retreat to that unfortunate prince. The House of Commons was of that opinion, and consequently they resolved, "that the transfer "of Corah and Illahabad to the Vizier was con-

"trary

" trary to policy and good faith." This is what the Commons think of this business, which Mr. Hastings pleads as merits.

But I have not yet done with it. These provinces are estimated as worth twenty-two lacks, or thereabouts, that is about 220,000*l.* a year. I believe they were improvable to a good deal more. But what does Mr. Hastings do? Instead of taking them into the Company's possession for the purpose of preserving them for the Mogul, upon the event of our being better satisfied with his conduct, or of appropriating them to the Company's advantage, he sells them to the Nabob of Oude, who he knew had the art, above all men, of destroying a country which he was to keep, or which he might fear he was not to keep permanent possession of. And what do you think he sold them for? He sold them at a little more than two years purchase. Will any man believe that Mr. Hastings, when he sold these provinces to the Vizier for two years purchase, (and when there was no man that would not have given ten years purchase for them,) did not put the difference between the real and pretended value into his own pocket, and that of his associates?

We charge, therefore, first, that this act for which he assumes merit was in itself a breach of faith; next, that the sale of these provinces was

scandalously

scandalously conducted; and thirdly, that this sale, at one fifth of the real value, was effected for corrupt purposes. Thus an act of threefold delinquency is one of the merits stated with great pomp by his counsel.

Another of his merits is the stoppage of the pension, which the Company was under an obligation to pay to Nudjeive Khan;—a matter which even if admitted to a merit, is certainly not worth, as a set-off, much consideration.

But there is another set-off of merit upon which he plumes himself, and sets an exceedingly high value—the sale of the Rohilla nation to that worthless tyrant, the Vizier, their cruel and bitter enemy, the cruellest tyrant, perhaps, that ever existed, and their most implacable enemy, if we except Mr. Hastings, who appears to have had a concealed degree of animosity, publick, private, or political, against them. To this man he sold this whole nation, whose country, cultivated like a garden, was soon reduced, as Mr. Hastings, from the character of the Vizier, knew would be the consequence, to a mere desert, for 400,000 *l.*; he sent a brigade of our troops to assist the Vizier in extirpating these people, who were the bravest, the most honourable, and generous nation upon earth. Those who were not left slaughtered to rot upon the soil of their native country, were cruelly expelled from it,

and

and sent to publish the merciless and scandalous behaviour of Great Britain from one end of India to the other. I believe there is not an honest, ingenuous, or feeling heart upon the face of the globe, I believe there is no man possessing the least degree of regard to honour and justice, humanity and good policy, that did not reprobate this act. The Court of Directors, when they heard of it, reprobated it in the strongest manner; the Court of Proprietors reprobated it in the strongest manner; by the House of Commons, after the most diligent investigation, it was, in a resolution moved by Mr. Dundas, reprobated in the strongest manner: and this is the act which Mr. Hastings brings forward before your Lordships as a merit.

But, again, I can prove, that in this, perhaps, the most atrocious of all his demerits, there is a most horrid and nefarious secret corruption lurking: I can tell your Lordships, that Sir Robert Barker was offered by this Vizier, for about one-half of this very country, namely, the country of the Rohillas, a sum of fifty lacks of rupees, that is, 500,000*l.* Mr. Hastings was informed of this offer by Sir Robert Baker, in his letter of the 24th March 1773. Still, in the face of this information, Mr. Hastings took for the Company only forty lacks of rupees. I leave your Lordships to draw your own conclusion from

from these facts. You will judge what became of the difference between the price offered and the price accounted for, as taken; nothing on earth can hide from mankind why Mr. Hastings made this wicked corrupt bargain for the extermination of a brave and generous people: why he took 400,000 *l.* for the whole of that, for half of which he was offered and knew he might have had 500,000 *l.*

Your Lordships will observe, that for all these facts there is no evidence on the one side or on the other, directly before you; their merits have been insisted upon in long and laborious details and discussions, both by Mr. Hastings himself and by his counsel; we have answered them for that reason, but we answer them with a direct reference to records and papers, from which your Lordships may judge of them as set-offs and merits. I believe your Lordships will now hardly receive them as merits to set off guilt, since in every one of them there is both guilt in the act, and strong ground for presuming that he had corruptly taken money for himself.

The last act of merit that has been insisted upon by his counsel, is the Mahratta peace. They have stated to you the distresses of the Company, to justify the unhandsome and improper means that he took of making this peace. Mr. Hastings himself has laid hold of the same

opportunity

opportunity of magnifying the difficulties which, during his government, he had to contend with. Here he displays all his tactics. He spreads all his sails, and here catches every gale. He says, I found all India confederated against you. I found not the Mahrattas alone; I found war through a hundred hostile states fulminated against you; I found the Peshwa, the Nizam, Hyder Ally, the Rajah of Berar, all combined together for your destruction. I stemmed the torrent; fortitude is my character. I faced and overcame all these difficulties, till I landed your affairs safe on shore; till I stood the saviour of India. . . . .

My Lords, we of the House of Commons have before heard all this, but we cannot forget that we examined into every part of it, and that we did not find a single fact stated by him, that was not a ground of censure and reprobation. The House of Commons, in the resolutions to which I have alluded, have declared, that Mr. Hastings, the first author of these proceedings, took advantage of an ambiguous letter of the Court of Directors, to break and violate the most solemn, the most advantageous, and useful treaty that the Company had ever made in India; and that this conduct of his produced the strange and unnatural junction, which he says he found formed against the Company, and with which he had to

combat.

combat. I should trouble your Lordships with but a brief statement of the facts, and if I do not enter more at large in observing upon them, it is because I cannot but feel shocked at the indecency and impropriety of your being obliged to hear of that as merit, which the House of Commons has condemned in every part. Your Lordships received obliquely evidence from the prisoner at your bar upon this subject, yet when we came and desired your full inquiry into it, your Lordships, for wise and just reasons, I have no doubt, refused our request. I must, however, again protest on the part of the Commons against your Lordships receiving such evidence at all as relevant to your judgment, unless the House of Commons is fully heard upon it.

But to proceed.—The government of Bombay had offended the Mahratta states, by a most violent and scandalous aggression. They afterwards made a treaty of peace with them, honourable and advantageous to the Company. This treaty was made by Colonel Upton, and is called The Treaty of Porunda. Mr. Hastings broke that treaty, upon his declared principle, that you are to look in war for the resources of your government. All India was at that time in peace. Hyder Ally did not dare to attack us; because he was afraid that his natural enemies, the Mahrattas, would fall upon him.—The Nizam could not

not attack us, because he was also afraid of the Mahrattas—the Mahratta state itself was divided into such discordant branches, as to make it impossible for them to unite in any one object; —that commonwealth, which certainly at that time was the terrour of India, was so broken, as to render it either totally ineffective or easy to be resisted; there was not one government in India, that did not look up to Great Britain as holding the balance of power, and in a position to controul and do justice to every individual party in it. At that juncture, Mr. Hastings deliberately broke the treaty of Porunda; and afterwards, by breaking faith with, and attacking all the powers, one after another, he produced that very union which one would hardly have expected, that the incapacity or ill faith of any governour could have effected. Your Lordships shall hear the best and most incontrovertible evidence, both of his incapacity, and ill faith, and of the consequences which they produced. It is the declaration of one of the latest of their allies, concerning all these proceedings. It is contained in a letter from the Rajah of Berar, directly and strongly inculpating Mr. Hastings, upon facts which he has never denied, and by arguments which he has never refuted, as being himself the cause of that very junction of all the powers of India against us.

Letter from Beneram Pundit.—" As the " friendship of the English is, at all events, the " first and most necessary consideration, I will " therefore exert myself in establishing peace ; " for the power of making peace with all, is the " best object ; to this, all other measures are " subservient, and will certainly be done by " them, the English. You write, that after " having laid the foundation of peace with the " Pundit Purdhaun, it is requisite that some " troops should be sent with General Goddard " against Hyder Naig, and take possession of " his country, when all those engagements and " proposals may be assented to. My reason is " confounded in discussing this suggestion, at " a time when Hyder Naig is in every respect " in alliance with the Peishwa, and has assisted, " with his soul and life, to repel the English. " For us to unite our troops with those of the " enemy, and extirpate him ; would not this " fix the stamp of infamy upon us for ever ? " Would any prince, for generations to come, " ever after assist us, or unite with the Peishwa ? " Be yourself the judge, and say, whether such " a conduct would become a prince or not. " —Why then do you mention it ?—why do " you write it ?

" The case is as follows :—At first there " was the utmost enmity between Hyder Naig and

" and the Pundit Purdhaun, and there was the
" fullest intention of sending troops into Hyder
" Naig's country; and after the conclusion of
" the war with Bombay and the capture of Ra-
" gonaut Row, it was firmly resolved to send
" troops into that quarter; and a reliance was
" placed in the treaty which was entered into
" by the gentlemen of Bombay before the war;
" but when Ragonaut again went to them, and
" General Goddard was ready to commence
" hostilities—when no regard was paid to
" the friendly proposals made by us and the
" Pundit Peishwa—when they desisted from
" coming to Poonah, agreeable to their promise,
" and a categorical answer was given to the
" deputies from Poonah; the ministers of Poo-
" nah then consulted among themselves, and
" having advised with the Nabob Nizam ul
" Dowlah, they considered that as enemies were
" appearing on both sides, and it would be
" difficult to cope with both, what was to be
" done? peace must be made with one of them,
" and war must be carried on with the other:
" they wished above all things, in their hearts,
" to make peace with the English gentlemen,
" and to unite with them to punish Hyder Naig;
" but these gentlemen had plainly refused to
" enter into any terms of reconciliation; it was
" therefore advisable to accommodate matters

" with Hyder Naig, although he had been long " an enemy.—What else could be done? having " nothing left for it, they were compelled to " enter into an union with Hyder."

My Lords, this declaration, made to Mr. Hastings himself, was never answered by him; indeed, answered it could not be; because the thing was manifest, that all the desolation of the Carnatic by Hyder Ally, all these difficulties upon which he has insisted; the whole of that union by which he was pressed, and against which, as he says, he bore up with such fortitude, was his own work, the consequences of his bad faith and his not listening to any reasonable terms of peace.

But, my Lords, see what sort of peace he afterwards made. I could prove, if I were called upon so to do, from this paper, that they have had the folly and madness to produce to you for other purposes, that he might at any time have made a better treaty, and have concluded a more secure and advantageous peace than that which at last he acceded to: that the treaty he made, was both disadvantageous and dishonourable; inasmuch, as we gave up every ally we had, and sacrificed them to the resentment of the enemy: that Mahadajee Scindia gained by it an empire of a magnitude dangerous

to

to our very existence in India; that this chief was permitted to exterminate all the many little gallant nations that stood between us and the Mahrattas, and whose policy led them to guard against the ambitious designs of that government. Almost all these lesser powers, from central India, quite up to the mountains that divide India from Tartary, almost all these, I say, were exterminated by him, or were brought under a cruel subjection. The peace he made with Mr. Hastings, was for the very purpose of doing all this; and Mr. Hastings enabled him, and gave him the means of effecting it. Advert next, my Lords, to what he did with other allies. By the treaty of Porunda made by Colonel Upton, and which he flagitiously broke, we had acquired what, God knows, we little merited from the Mahrattas, twelve lacks, (112,000*l.*) for the expences of the war; and a country of three lacks of annual revenue, the province of Burratch and the Isle of Salset, and other small islands convenient for us upon that coast. This was a great, useful, and momentous accession of territory and of revenue, and we got it with honour; for not one of our allies were sacrificed by this treaty. We had even obtained from the Mahrattas for Ragonaut Row, our support of whom against that government was a principal cause of the war, an establishment of a thousand horse,

to be maintained at their expence, and a jaghire for his other expences, of three lacks of rupees per annum, payable monthly, with leave to reside within their territories, with no other condition than that he should not remove from the place fixed for his residence, for the purpose of exciting disturbances against their government. They also stipulated for the pardon of all his adherents, except four; and the only condition they required from us was, that we should not assist him in case of any future disturbance. But Mr. Hastings, by his treaty, surrendered that country of three lacks of revenue; he made no stipulation for the expences of the war, nor indemnity for any of the persons whom he had seduced into the rebellion, in favour of Ragonaut Row.—He gave them all up to the vengeance of their governments, without a stroke of a pen in their favour; to be banished, confiscated and undone; and as to Ragonaut Row, instead of getting him this honourable and secure retreat, as he was bound to do, this unfortnnate man was ordered to retire to his enemy's (Mahadajee Scindia's) country; or otherwise he was not to receive a shilling for his maintenance. I will now ask your Lordships, whether any man but Mr. Hastings, would claim a merit with his own country, for having broken the treaty of Porunda? Your

Lordships know the opinion of the House of Commons respecting it; his colleagues in council had remonstrated with him upon it, and had stated the mischiefs that would result from it; and Sir Eyre Coote, the commander of the Company's forces, writing at the same time from Madras, states, that he thought it would infallibly bring down upon them Hyder Ally, who, they had reason, to think, was bent upon the utter destruction of the power of this country in India, and was only waiting for some crisis in our affairs favourable to his designs. This, my Lords, is to be one of the set-offs against all the crimes, against the multiplied frauds, cruelties, and oppressions, all the corrupt practices, prevarications, and swindlings, that we have alleged against him.

My Lords, it would be an endless undertaking, and such as at this hour of the day we, as well as your Lordships, are little fitted to engage in, if I were to attempt to search into and unveil all the secret motives, or to expose, as it deserves, the shameless audacity of this man's conduct. None of your Lordships can have observed, without astonishment, the selection of his merits, as he audaciously calls them, which has been brought before you. The last of this selection, in particular, looks as if he meant to revile and spit upon the legislature of his country; because we and you thought it fit,

and were resolved to publish to all India, that we will not countenance offensive wars; and that you felt this so strongly, as to pass the first Act of a kind that was ever made; namely, an Act to limit the discretionary power of government in making war solely; and because you have done this solely and upon no other account, and for no other reason under heaven, than the abuse which that man at your bar has made of it, and for which abuse he now presumes to take merit to himself. I will read this part of the Act to your Lordships.

[Mr. Burke here read 24th Geo. 3. cap. 24. sect. 34.]

" And whereas to pursue schemes of con-
" quest and extension of dominion in India,
" are measures repugnant to the wish, the ho-
" nour and policy of this nation; Be it therefore
" further enacted by the authority aforesaid,
" That it shall not be lawful for the Governour
" General and Council of Fort William aforesaid,
" without the express command and authority
" of the said Court of Directors, or of the secret
" committee of the said Court of Directors, in
" any case (except where hostilities have actually
" been commenced, or preparations actually
" made for the commencement of hostilities
" against the British nation in India, or against
" some of the princes or states dependent
" thereon,

" thereon, or whose territories the said United " Company shall be at such time engaged by " any subsisting treaty to defend or guaranty) " either to declare war or commence hostilities, " or enter into any treaty for making war, " against any of the country princes or states in " India, or any treaty for guarantying the pos- " sessions of any country princes or states; and " that in such case it shall not be lawful for the " said Governour General and Council to declare " war or commence hostilities, or enter into " treaty for making war, against other prince " or state than such as shall be actually com- " mitting hostilities or making preparations as " aforesaid, or to make such treaty for guaran- " tying the possessions of any prince or state, " but upon the consideration of such prince or " state actually engaging to assist the Company " against such hostilities commenced or prepa- " rations made as aforesaid; and in all cases " where such hostilities shall be commenced or " treaty made, the said Governour General and " Council shall, by the most expeditious means " they can devise, communicate the same unto " the said Court of Directors, together with a " full state of the information and intelligence " upon which they shall have commenced such " hostilities or made such treaties, and their " motives and reasons for the same at large."

It is the first Act of the kind that ever was made

made in this kingdom, the first statute, I believe, that ever was made by the legislature of any nation upon the subject, and it was made solely upon the resolutions to which we had come against the violent, intemperate, unjust and perfidious acts of this man at your Lordships' bar, and which acts are now produced before your Lordships as merits.

To shew further to your Lordships, how necessary this Act was, here is a part of his own correspondence, the last thing I shall beg to read to your Lordships, and upon which I shall make no other comment than that you will learn from it how well British faith was kept by this man; and that it was the violation of British faith, which prevented our having the most advantageous peace, and brought on all the calamities of war.

It is part of a letter from the minister of the Rajah of Berar, a man called Beneram Pundit, with whom Mr. Hastings was at the time treating for a peace, and he tells him why he might have had peace at that time, and why he had it not; and that the cause of it was his own ridiculous and even buffoonish perfidiousness, which exposed him to the ridicule of all the princes of India, and with him the whole British nation.

" But afterwards reflecting that it was not " advisable for me to be in such haste before I

" had

" had understood all the contents of the papers;
" I opened them in the presence of the Maha
" Rajah, when all the Kharetas letter, copies
" and treaties, wese perused with the greatest
" attention and care: first, they convinced us
" of your great truth and sincerity, and that
" you never, from the beginning to this time,
" were inclined to the present disputes and
" hostilities; and next, that you have not in-
" cluded in the articles of the treaty, any of
" your wishes or inclinations, and in short the
" garden of the treaty appeared to us in all its
" parts, green and flourishing. But though the
" fruit of it was excellent, yet they appeared
" different from those of Colonel Upton's treaty.
" (the particulars of which I have frequently
" written to you,) and upon tasting them, proved
" to be bitter and very different, when compared
" to the former articles. How can any of the old
" and established obligations be omitted, and
" new matters agreed to, which it is plain that
" they will produce and damage? Some points
" which you have mentioned, under the plea of
" the faith and observance of treaties, are of
" such a nature, that the Poonah ministers can
" never assent to them; in all engagements
" and important transactions, in which the words
" *but*, and *although*, and *besides*, and *whereas*,
" and *why*, and other such words of doubt are
" introduced, it gives an opening to disputes

" and

" and misunderstandings. A treaty is meant " for the entire removal of all differences, not " for the increase of them. My departure for " Poonah has therefore been delayed." My Lords, consider to what ironies and insults this nation was exposed, and how necessary it was for us to originate that Bill, which your Lordships passed into an Act of Parliament, with His Majesty's assent; the words *but, although, besides, whereas* and *why,* and such like are introduced to give an opening, and so on. Then he desires him to send another treaty, fit for him to sign.

" I have therefore kept the treaty with the " greatest care and caution in my possession, " and have taken a copy of it; I have added to " each article another, which appeared to me " proper and advisable; and without any loss or " disadvantage to the English, or any thing " more in favour of the Pundit Purdhaun than " was contained in the former treaties. This I " have sent to you, and hope that you will pre- " pare and send a treaty conformable to that, " without any *besides*, or *if*, or *why*, or *but*, and " *whereas*, that as soon as it arrives, I may de- " part for Poonah, and having united with me " Row Mahadajee Scindia, and having brought " over the Nabob Nizam ul Dowlah to this " business, I may settle and adjust all matters

" which

" which are in this bad situation. As soon as I
" have received my dismission from thence,
" I would set off for Calcutta, and represent to
" you every thing, which for a long while I have
" had in my mind, and by this transaction erect
" to the view of all the world, the standard of
" the greatness and goodness of the English, and
" of my masters, and extinguish the flames of
" war with the waters of friendship. The com-
" passing all those advantages and happy pros-
" pects depends entirely upon your will and
" consent; and the power of bringing them to
" an issue, is in your hands alone."

My Lords, you may here see the necessity there was for passing the Act of Parliament, which I have just read to you, in order to prevent in future the recurrence of that want of faith, of which Mr. Hastings had been so notoriously guilty, and by which he had not only united all India against us, and had hindered us from making, for a long time, any peace at all, but had exposed the British character to the irony, scorn, derision and insult of the whole people of that vast continent.

My Lords, in the progress of this Impeachment, you have heard our charges; you have heard the Prisoner's plea of merits; you have heard our observations on them. In the progress of this Impeachment, you have seen the condition

in

in which Mr. Hastings received Benares; you have seen the condition in which Mr. Hastings received the country of the Rohillas; you have seen the condition in which he received the country of Oude; you have seen the condition in which he received the provinces of Bengal; you have seen the condition of the country when the native government was succeeded by that of Mr. Hastings; you have seen the happiness and prosperity of all its inhabitants, from those of the highest to those of the lowest rank. My Lords, you have seen the very reverse of all this under the government of Mr. Hastings; the country itself, all its beauty and glory ending in a jungle for wild beasts. You have seen flourishing families reduced to implore that pity, which the poorest man and the meanest situation might very well call for. You have seen whole nations in the mass reduced to a condition of the same distress. These things in his government at home: abroad, scorn, contempt, and derision cast upon and covering the British name, war stirred up, and dishonourable treaties of peace made, by the total prostitution of British faith. Now take, my Lords, together, all the multiplied delinquencies which we have proved, from the highest degree of tyranny, to the lowest degree of sharping and cheating, and then judge, my Lords, whether the House of Commons could rest for one moment, without bringing these

matters,

matters, which have baffled all legislation at various times, before you, to try at last what judgment will do. Judgment is what gives force, effect, and vigour to laws; laws without judgment are contemptible and ridiculous; we had better have no laws, than laws not enforced by judgments and suitable penalties upon delinquents. Revert, my Lords, to all the sentences which have heretofore been passed by this high court. Look to the sentence passed upon Lord Bacon; look at the sentence passed upon Lord Macclesfield, and then compare the sentences which your ancestors have given, with the delinquencies which were then before them, and you have the measure to be taken in your sentence upon the delinquent now before you. Your sentence, I say, will be measured according to that rule which ought to direct the judgment of all courts in like cases, lessening it for a lesser offence, and aggravating it for a greater, until the measure of justice is completely full.

My Lords, I have done; the part of the Commons is concluded. With a trembling solicitude we consign this product of our long, long labours, to your charge. Take it!—take it! It is a sacred trust. Never before was a cause of such magnitude submitted to any human tribunal.

My Lords, at this awful close, in the name of the Commons, and surrounded by them, I attest the retiring, I attest the advancing generations, between

between which, as a link in the great chain of eternal order, we stand.—We call this nation, we call the world to witness, that the Commons have shrunk from no labour; that we have been guilty of no prevarication; that we have made no compromise with crime; that we have not feared any odium whatsoever, in the long warfare which we have carried on with the crimes—with the vices—with the exorbitant wealth—with the enormous and overpowering influence of Eastern corruption. This war, my Lords, we have waged for twenty-two years, and the conflict has been fought at your Lordships' bar for the last seven years. My Lords, twenty-two years is a great space in the scale of the life of man; it is no inconsiderable space in the history of a great nation. A business which has so long occupied the councils and the tribunals of Great Britain, cannot possibly be huddled over in the course of vulgar, trite, and transitory events. Nothing but some of those great revolutions, that break the traditionary chain of human memory, and alter the very face of nature itself, can possibly obscure it. My Lords, we are all elevated to a degree of importance by it; the meanest of us will, by means of it, more or less, become the concern of posterity; if we are yet to hope for such a thing in the present state of the world, as a recording, retrospective, civilised posterity; but this is in the hands of the great Disposer of events;

events; it is not ours to settle how it shall be. My Lords, your House yet stands; it stands as a great edifice; but let me say, that it stands in the midst of ruins; in the midst of the ruins, that have been made by the greatest moral earthquake that ever convulsed and shattered this globe of ours. My Lords, it has pleased Providence to place us in such a state, that we appear every moment to be upon the verge of some great mutations. There is one thing, and one thing only, which defies all mutation; that which existed before the world, and will survive the fabrick of the world itself; I mean justice; that justice, which, emanating from the Divinity, has a place in the breast of every one of us, given us for our guide with regard to ourselves, and with regard to others, and which will stand, after this globe is burned to ashes, our advocate or our accuser before the great Judge, when He comes to call upon us for the tenour of a well-spent life.

My Lords, the Commons will share in every fate with your Lordships; there is nothing sinister which can happen to you, in which we shall not be involved; and if it should so happen that we shall be subjected to some of those frightful changes, which we have seen; if it should happen that your Lordships, stripped of all the decorous distinctions of human society, should, by hands at once base and cruel, be led to those

scaffolds and machines of murder, upon which great kings and glorious queens have shed their blood, amidst the prelates, amidst the nobles, amidst the magistrates, who supported their thrones, may you in those moments feel that consolation which I am persuaded they felt in the critical moments of their dreadful agony!

My Lords, there is a consolation, and a great consolation it is, which often happens to oppressed virtue and fallen dignity; it often happens that the very oppressors and persecutors themselves are forced to bear testimony in its favour. I do not like to go for instances a great way back into antiquity. I know very well, that length of time operates so as to give an air of the fabulous to remote events, which lessens the interest and weakens the application of examples. I wish to come nearer to the present time. Your Lordships know and have heard, for which of us has not known and heard of the parliament of Paris? The parliament of Paris had an origin very very similar to that of the great court before which I stand; the parliament of Paris continued to have a great resemblance to it in its constitution, even to its fall; the parliament of Paris, my Lords, WAS; it is gone! It has passed away; it has vanished like a dream! It fell, pierced by the sword of the Compte de Mirabeau. And yet I will say, that that man, at the time of his inflicting the death wound

wound of that parliament, produced at once the shortest and the grandest funeral oration that ever was or could be made upon the departure of a great court of magistracy. Though he had himself smarted under its lash, as every one knows who knows his history (and he was elevated to dreadful notoriety in history) yet when he pronounced the death sentence upon that parliament, and inflicted the mortal wound, he declared that his motives for doing it were merely political, and that their hands were as pure as those of Justice itself, which they administered —a great and glorious exit, my Lords, of a great and glorious body! And never was a eulogy pronounced upon a body, more deserved. They were persons in nobility of rank, in amplitude of fortune, in weight of authority, in depth of learning, inferior to few of those that hear me. My Lords, it was but the other day, that they submitted their necks to the axe! but their honour was unwounded. Their enemies, the persons who sentenced them to death, were lawyers, full of subtlety; they were enemies, full of malice; yet lawyers full of subtlety, and enemies full of malice, as they were, they did not dare to reproach them with having supported the wealthy, the great and powerful, and of having oppressed the weak and feeble, in any of their judgments, or of having perverted justice in any one in-

stance whatever, through favour, through interest or cabal.

My Lords, if you must fall, may you so fall! but if you stand, and stand I trust you will, together with the fortune of this ancient monarchy—together with the ancient laws and liberties of this great and illustrious kingdom, may you stand as unimpeached in honour as in power; may you stand, not as a substitute for virtue, but as an ornament of virtue, as a security for virtue; may you stand long, and long stand the terrour of tyrants; may you stand the refuge of afflicted nations; may you stand a sacred temple, for the perpetual residence of an inviolable Justice.

INDEX.

A.

ACCIDENTAL things ought to be carefully distinguished from permanent causes and effects, viii. 78.
Account, capital use of, what, ii. 312.
Act of Navigation, ii. 144. 380. 391.
Acts of Grace, impolicy of them, iii. 378.
——— indemnity and oblivion, probable effects of them as a means of reconciling France to a monarchy, vii. 187.
Addison, Mr., the correctness of his opinion of the cause of the grand effect of the Rotund, questioned, i. 183.
——— his fine lines on honourable political connexions, ii. 334.
Administration, a short account of a late short one, ii. 3.
——————— Duke of Cumberland's, in July 1765, ii. 3. Lord Chatham's, July 1766, *ibid.* Marquis of Rockingham's, 146. State of publick affairs at the time of its formation, 148. Character and conduct of it, 157. Idea of it respecting America, 168. Remarks on its foreign negotiations, 187. Character of a united administration, 196. Of a disunited one, 204. Should be correspondent to the legislature, 262.
Admiration, the first source of obedience, vi. 310. One of the principles which interest us in the characters of others, x. 151.
Adrian, first contracts the bounds of the Roman Empire, x. 233.
Advice, compulsive, from constituents, its authority first resisted by Mr. Burke, vi. 116.
Adviser, duty of one, vi. 52.
Agricola, Julius, character and conduct of, x. 215.
Aix, the Archbishop of, his offer of contribution, why refused by the French National Assembly, v. 223
Aix-la-Chapelle, the treaty of, remarks on it, viii. 335.
Akber, the Emperor, obtains possession of Bengal, xiii. 82.

Alfred the Great, character and conduct of, x. 289. 99. His care and sagacity in improving the laws and institutions of England, 559.

Allegiance, oath of, remarkable one taken by the nobility to King Stephen, x. 444.

Alliance, one of the requisites of a good peace, ii. 39. The famous Triple Alliance negotiated by Temple and De Witt, viii. 333. Alliance between Church and State in a Christian commonwealth, a fanciful speculation, x. 43.

Ambition, one of the passions belonging to society, i. 149. Its nature and end, *ibid.* Misery of disappointed ambition, ii. 91. Ambition ought to be influenced by popular motives, 266. Influence of it, iv. 315. One of the natural distempers of a democracy, vi. 204. Necessity and dangerous tendency of violent restraints on it, *ibid.* Not an accurate calculator, x. 85. Advantage of a generous ambition for applause for publick services, xiii. 438.

America, advantage of to England, ii. 42. Nature of various taxes there, 116. Eloquent description of the rising glories of, in vision, iii. 42. Its rapidly increasing commerce, 39-46. Temper and character of its inhabitants, 49. Their spirit of liberty, whence? 49-57. 66. Proposed taxation of by *grant*, instead of *imposition*, 92. Danger of establishing a military government there, ix. 192. Difficulty of representation there, ii. 139.

American Stamp Act, repealed, ii. 3. 158-168. Its origin and progress, 153. Reasons of the repeal political, not commercial, 377. 402. Good effects of the repeal, 174. 417.

Ancestors, our, reverence due to them, v. 436, 7. vi. 265.

Angles, in buildings, prejudicial to their grandeur, i. 184.

Animals, their cries capable of conveying great ideas, i. 197.

Anniversaries, festive, advantages of, vii. 75.

Anselm, appointed Archbishop of Canterbury after the death of Lanefranc, x. 425. Supports Henry I. against his brother Robert, 430, 1.

Apparitions, singular inconsistency in the ideas of the vulgar concerning them, x. 193.

Arbitrary power steals upon a people by lying dormant for a time, or by being rarely exercised, iii. 151. Cannot be exercised or delegated by the Legislature, xiii. 165. Not recognised in the Gentoo Code, xv. 68.

Arbitrary system must always be a corrupt one, xiii. 218. Danger of adopting it as a principle of action, xv. 215.

Areopagus, court and senate of, remarks on them, v. 369.

Ariosto,

Ariosto, a criticism of Boileau on, x. 158.

Aristocracy, affected terror of an extension of power by, in the reign of George II., ii. 244. Influence of the aristocracy, 245. Too much spirit not a fault of it, 246. General observations on it, v. 254-5. Character of a true natural one, vi. 217. Regulations in some states with respect to it, 307-8. Must submit to the dominion of prudence and virtue, vii. 369. Character of the aristocracy of France before the Revolution, v. 251-3. ix. 38.

Aristotle, his caution against the delusion of demanding geometrical accuracy in moral arguments, iii. 112. His observations on the resemblance between a democracy and a tyranny, v. 231. His distinction between Tragedy and Comedy, x. 157. His natural philosophy alone unworthy of him, 278. His system entirely followed by Bede, *ibid.*

Armies yield a precarious and uncertain obedience to a senate, v. 390. On standing armies, v. 17.

Army commanded by General Monk, character of it, vi. 44.

Art, every work of, only *great* as it deceives, i. 185.

Artist, a true one effects the noblest designs by easy methods, i. 185.

Artois, de, Count, character of him, vii. 149.

Ascendancy, Protestant, observations on it, ix. 426.

Asers, race of, origin, character and conduct of, x. 250.

Assassination, recommended and employed by the National Assembly of France, vi. 41. The dreadful effects of, in case of war, 42, 3.

Astonishment, origin and nature of the passion, i. 157, 266.

Atheism by establishment, what, viii. 170.

——— ought to be repressed by law, 37.

——— schools of, set up by the French regicides at the publick charge, ix. 119.

Atheists, modern, contrasted with those of antiquity, vii. 58.

Athenians, at the head of the democratic interests of Greece, vii. 17.

Athens, the plague of, wickedness remarkably prevalent during its continuance, x. 88.

Augustine, state of religion in Britain when he arrived there, x. 255. Introduced Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons, 257.

Aulick Council, remarks on it, vii. 360.

Austria, began in the reign of Maria Theresa to support great armies, viii. 245, 6. Treaty of 1756 with France, deplored by the French in 1773, 247.

Authority, the people the natural control on it, vi. 204. The control and exercise of it contradictory, *ibid.* The monopoly of it an evil, vii. 397. The only firm seat of it in the publick opinion, iii. 179. ix. 178.
Avarice, effects of it, iv. 315. 317. xiii. 212.

B.

Bacon, Lord, a remark of his applied to the Revolution in France, viii. 5. His demeanour at his impeachment, xv. 22.
Bacon, Nicholas, his work on the Laws of England not entitled to authority, x. 554.
Bail, method of giving it introduced by Alfred, x. 295. Advantage of it, *ibid.*
Ball, the Abbè *John*, remarks on his conduct, vi. 221.
Ballot, all contrivances by it unfit to prevent a discovery of the inclinations, v. 368.
Balmerino, Lord, extract from the account of his trial, xiv. 320.
Bank Paper in England owing to the flourishing condition of commerce, v. 412.
Banyan, Indian, character of, xiii. 45.
Bards, origin and character of them, x. 189.
Bartholomew, St. massacre of, v. 260.
Bathurst, Lord, his imagined vision of the rising glories of America, iii. 42.
Bayle, Mr. an observation of his on religious persecution, ix. 365.
Beauchamp, Lord, his Bill; Mr. Burke's vindication of his conduct with respect to it, iii. 374.
Beauty, observations on, i. 137. 203. Natural proportion not the cause of it, 207. Nor customary proportion, 221. Beauty and proportion not ideas of the same nature, 223. The opposite to beauty not disproportion, or deformity, but *ugliness*, *ibid.* Fitness not the cause of beauty, *ibid.* Nor perfection, 231. How far the ideas of beauty may be applied to the faculties of the mind, 232. How far they may be applied to virtue, 234. The real cause of beauty, 235. Beautiful objects small, 236. And smooth, 237. And gradually varied, 238. And delicate, 240. And of mild or diversified colours, 242. Beauty acts by relaxing the solids of the whole system, 285.
Bede, the venerable, brief account of him, x. 276-81.
Belford, the first Earl of, who, viii. 38.
Begum, Munny, her condition and character, xv. 433.

Begums,

Begums, the East India Company suspect them of rebellion, iv. 56. Plundered by order of Mr. Hastings, 70. Pretence for seizing their treasures, xv. 417.
Benares, the capital of the Indian religion, iv. 59. 68. Devastation of the province during Mr. Hastings's government, xv. 248. xvi. 190. Projected sale of it to the Nabob of Oude, xv. 134. Nature of the Rajah's authority, 108. Imprisoned by Mr. Hastings's order, 160.
Benfield, Paul, his character and conduct, iv. 302.
Bengal, extent and condition of, iv. 84. Nature of the government exercised there by Mr. Hastings, xvi. 174, 5. Conquest of it by the Emperor Akber, xiii. 82. Era of the independent soubahs, 83. Era of the British empire there, 84.
Bengal Club, observations on it, vii. 20.
Bidjigur, fortress of, taken by order of Mr. Hastings, xv. 175.
Biron, Duchess of, murdered by the French regicides, ix. 40.
Bitterness, in description, a source of the sublime, i. 199.
Blackness, effects of, i. 281.
Boadicea, her character and conduct, x. 213.
Boileau, his criticism on a tale in Ariosto, x. 158.
Bolingbroke, Lord, animadversions on his philosophy, i. 3. Some characters of his style, 8. A presumptuous and superficial writer, v. 232. A remark of his on the superiority of a monarchy over other forms of government, *ibid.*
Boulogne, fortress of, surrendered to France, viii. 41. Importance of it to England, *ibid.* Godfrey of Boulogne engages in the Crusade, x. 424.
Bovines, victory of, important advantages of it to France, x. 529.
Borrower, the publick, and the private lender not adverse parties with contending interests, viii. 355.
Brabançons, mercenary troops in the time of Henry II. their character, x. 482.
Bribing, by means of it, rather than by being bribed, wicked politicians bring ruin on mankind, iv. 315.
Brissot, his character and conduct, vii. 77. Preface to his address to his constituents, vii. 297.
Britain, invasion of by Cæsar, x. 173. Account of its ancient inhabitants, 179. Invaded by Claudius, 205. Reduced by Ostorius Scapula, 206. Finally subdued by Julius Agricola, 215. Why not sooner conquered, 219. Nature of the government settled there by the Romans, 223. First introduction of Christianity, 242 Deserted by the Romans, 244-6. Entry and settlement of the Saxons, and their conversion to Christianity, 248.

Britons, more reduced than any other nation that fell under the German power, x. 255.
Browne, Dr. effect of his writings on the people of England, viii. 85.
Buche, Captal de, his severe treatment of the *Jacquerie* in France, vi. 220.
Buildings, too great length in them, prejudicial to grandeur of effect, i. 185. Should be gloomy, to produce an idea of the Sublime, 192.
Burke, Mr. his sentiments respecting several leading members of the whig party, vi. 80. And respecting an union of Ireland with Great Britain, 364, 5. And respecting acts of indemnity as a means of reconciling France to a monarchy, vii. 187. His animadversions on the conduct of Mr. Fox, 223. His pathetic allusion to his deceased son, viii. 45.
Burnet, Bishop, his statement of the methods which carried men of parts to Popery in France, v. 272.
Bute, Earl of, his resignation, ii. 148. His successors recommended by him, *ibid.* Supposed head of the court party called "Kings Men," 257.

C.

Cæsar, Julius, his policy with respect to the Gauls, x. 170. His invasion of Germany, 172. And of Britain, 173.
Calais, lost by the surrender of Boulogne, viii. 41.
Calamity, its deliberations rarely wise, v. 410. Publick calamity often arrested by the seasonable energy of a single man, vii. 366.
Caligula undertakes an expedition against Britain, x. 203, 4.
Calonne, de, M. remarks on his work, L'Etat de la France, v. 334. Extract from it, 421.
Campagna, Buon, character of him, vii. 37.
Campanella, curious story concerning him, i. 261.
Canada Bills, convention for the liquidation of them, ii. 183.
Canterbury, disputes between the suffragan bishops of the province and the monks of the Abbey of St. Austin, x. 515.
Cantons, French, origin and nature of them, v. 312. 24.
Cantoo Baboo, Mr. Hastings's Banyan, his character, xiii. 237.
Canute, his character and conduct, x. 308. Remarks on his code of laws, 560.
Capital, monopoly of, not an evil, vii. 397.
Care, appearance of, highly contrary to our ideas of magnificence, i. 188.

Carnatic,

Carnatic, the, extent and condition of the country, iv. 78. 262-6. Dreadful devastation of it by Hyder Ali Khan, 259.
Caste, consequence of losing it in India, xiii. 328.
Castile, different from Catalonia and Arragon, vii. 39.
Castles, great numbers of them built in the reign of Stephen, x. 445.
Casuistry, origin and requisites of, vi. 208. Danger of pursuing it too far, *ibid.*
Catholicks, letter to an Irish peer on the penal laws against them, vi. 271.
Celsus, his opinion that internal remedies were not of early use, proved to be erroneous, x. 196.
Cerealis, extract from his fine speech to the Gauls, vi. 335.
Change and Reformation, difference between them, viii. 19.
Charles I. defended himself on the practice of his predecessors, iii. 246. His illjudged attempt to establish the rites of the church of England in Scotland, x. 7, 8.
Charles II. obliged, by the sense of the nation, to abandon the Dutch war, iii. 173. Brief character of him, vi. 45, 6. His government contrasted with that of Cromwell, vii. 196.
Charles XII. of Sweden, parallel between him and Richard I. of England, x. 502.
Characters of others, principles which interest us in them, x. 151.
Charity, observations on, vii. 391. The magistrate must not interfere with it, *ibid.*
Charters, are kept when their purposes are maintained, iv. 167-70.
Chatham, Lord, his character, ii. 419. His administration, ii. 3.
Cheit Sing, Rajah of Benares, nature of his authority, iv. 60. xv. 108. Imprisoned by order of Mr. Hastings, 157.
Cheselden, Mr. his story of a boy who was couched for a cataract, i. 278.
Chester, the county palatine of, oppressed until the reign of Henry VIII. iii. 87.
Chesterfield, Lord, his conduct (when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) with respect to the Roman Catholicks, vi. 291.
Christendom, the several states of it have all been formed slowly and without any unity of design, viii. 251.
Christianity, original introduction of, into Britain, x. 242.
Church, the, has power to alter her rites and discipline, x. 5, 6.
Church Establishment in England, observations on it, v. 190-6. Eulogy on it, ix. 438. x. 37, 38. 59-61. Education of its clergy contrasted with that of the Roman Catholick clergy, vi. 286. Convocation of the clergy a part of the constitution,

constitution, iii. 181. Observations on the provision made for the clergy by the State, v. 190-6.
Cicero, remarks on his orations against Verres, xvi. 358.
Circumstances, importance of them in all political principles, v. 36. x. 58.
Citizens, not to be listened to, in matters that relate to agriculture, vii. 391, 2.
Civil List, debts due on it, request for a supply for discharging them, how made, ii. 308, 9. Plan of economy relative to it, iii. 334.
Civil Wars corrupt the manners of the people, iii. 152.
Civil vicinity, law of, what, viii. 185-7.
Civil society, grand object of it, ix. 266.
Clamour, justifiable when it is caused by abuse, x. 127.
Clarendon, constitutions of, x. 461-3.
Claudius, the Emperor, invades Britain, x. 205.
Clavering, Sir *John*, eulogy on him, xiv. 9. xvi. 356.
Clear expression, different from a strong one, i. 320, 1.
Clearness not necessary for affecting the passions, i. 161.
Clergy, convocation of, a part of the constitution, iii. 181. Observations on the provision made by the state for them, v. 190-6. 295.
Clergy, Roman Catholick, in France, character of them before the Revolution there, v. 198, 9. 265-8. Laws of William and Anne respecting the Popish clergy in Ireland, ix. 345. Review of the state of the clergy in England down to the reign of Henry II. x. 345.
Clive, Lord, sent to India, xiii. 143. His conduct there, 144, 5.
Cloots, *Anacharsis*, observations on his conduct, ix. 49.
Coke, Lord, ingenious quotation in his reports, i. 6. His observation on discretion in judicature, vi. 359.
Colonies, commercial, mode of levying taxes in them, a difficult and important consideration, ii. 114.
Colonists import ten times more from Great Britain than they send in return, ii. 164. Character of the British colonists in America, 166.
Colours, soft and cheerful ones unfit to produce grand images, i. 193.
Comedy, observations on, x. 153-7. Aristotle's distinction between it and Tragedy, 157.
Comines, *Philip de*, his remarks on the English civil wars, ix. 277.
Commerce and Liberty, the two main sources of power to Great Britain, iii. 7. Great increase of, in America, 39, 40.
Common Law, nature of it, x. 534.

Common Pleas, court of, its origin, x. 539.
Commons, the House of, observations on its nature and character, ii. 288. v. 96, 7. What qualities recommend a man to a seat in it, in popular elections, ii. 294. Ought to be connected with the people, 307. Has a character of its own, 424. Duty of the members to their constituents, iii. 18. A council to advise, as well as an accuser to criminate, iv. 151. Can never control other parts of the government unless the members themselves are controlled by their constituents, ii. 302. Duty of a member to his constituents, iii. 18-22. General observations on the character and duties of it, ii. 287. iv. 140-159. Concise view of its proceedings on the East India question, 160-181. Cannot renounce its share of authority, v. 57. In legal construction the sense of the people of England is to be collected from it, iv. 141, 2. The most powerful and most corruptible part of the British constitution, x. 65. A superintendence over the proceedings of the courts of justice, one of its principal objects, 109.
Commonwealths, not subject to the laws that determine the duration of individuals, vii. 366. viii. 78, 9.
Communes, in France, their origin and nature, v. 312. 15. 25.
Compurgators, in Saxon law, what, x. 359.
Condorcet, brief character of him, vii. 58. 79. Extract from a publication of his, 59.
Confidence, unsuspecting, in government, importance of it, iii. 191. Confidence of mankind, how to be secured, viii. 304.
Connexions, political, held honourable in the commonwealths of antiquity, ii. 332. Observations on them, 333-6.
Conquest cannot give a right to arbitrary power, xiii. 167.
Conscience, a tender one ought to be tenderly handled, x. 57.
Constantine the Great, changes made by him in the internal policy of the Roman empire, x. 241.
Constantinople, anecdote of the visit of an English country squire to, viii. 271. Anecdote of the Greeks at the taking of it, ix. 107.
Constituents, in England, more in the spirit of the constitution to lessen than to enlarge their number, ii. 135. Duty to their representatives, iii. 359-61. Compulsive instruction from them first resisted by Mr. Burke, vi. 116. Points in which they are incompetent to give advice to their representatives, x. 76.
Constitution, a change in it, an immense operation, ii. 136. 323. Only to be attempted in times of general confusion, *ibid.*

No constitution can preserve itself, ix. 112. The whole scheme of the English constitution is to prevent any one of its principles from going too far, vi. 258. Was not suddenly formed, 261. Commendation of it by Montesquieu, 263, 4. Only means of its subversion, what, vii. 275. Eulogy on it, v. 436. viii. 49. x. 104. Danger of disgracing the frame and constitution of the state, 106, 7.

Constitutional Society, what, v. 31.

Conti, de, Prince, observations on his conduct, vii. 157.

Contract, an implied one always between the labourer and his employer, vii. 380.

Contracting parties, not necessary that they should have different interests, vii. 382.

Control, and exercise of authority, contradictory, vi. 204.

Convocation of the clergy, though a part of the constitution, now called for form only, iii. 181.

Conway, General, moves the repeal of the American Stamp Act, ii. 403. 405. 407.

Cornwallis, Lord, extracts from the account of his trial, xiv. 316.

Cornwallis, Lord, his evidence at the trial of Warren Hastings, xvi. 369.

Coronation Oath, observations on it, with respect to the Roman Catholicks, vi. 319-27.

Corporate bodies, importance of them, v. 286. 294.

Corruption of nature and example, the only security against it, what, iii. 196, 7.

Corruption in pecuniary matters, the suspicion of it how to be avoided, iv. 300.

Cossim Ally Cawn, his character and conduct, xiii. 100.

Country, love of, remarks on it, xv. 346.

Credit and Power, incompatible, ii. 132.

Crimes, the acts of individuals not of denominations, iii. 418. According to the criminal law, what, ix. 373.

Cromwell, brief character of him, v. 102, 3. His conduct in the appointment of judges, vi. 15, 16. His conduct in government, 45. His government contrasted with that of Charles II. vii. 196.

Cross, the form of it not so grand in architecture as the parallelogram, i. 183.

Crown, the influence of it, what, ii. 229. Inheritable nature of it, v. 59. Maintained at the Revolution, 56. The only legitimate channel of communication with other nations, vii. 223.

Crusade, origin and progress of it, x. 420-2.

Curfew,

Curfew, the origin and policy of it, x. 402.
Curiosity, the first and simplest emotion of the human mind, i 121. General observations on it, 122.
Custom, observations on it, i. 221. Not the cause of pleasure, 222.
Cyprus, account of the conquest of it by Richard I. x. 492.

D.

Danger and pain, with certain modifications, delightful, i. 134. The sense of it an attendant of the sublime, 158. The danger of any thing very dear to us, removes all other affections from the mind, vi. 115.
Darkness, terrible in its own nature, i. 278. Why? 279. Mr. Locke's opinion concerning it, considered, 276. Darkness and gloom necessary to the sublime in building, 192. More productive of sublime ideas than light, 191.
Davis, Sir *John*, his statement of the policy of the English government with regard to Ireland, iii. 82. vi. 336.
Day, not so sublime as night, i. 193.
Debi Sing, his character, xiii. 299-302.
Debt, interest of, the only thing that can distress a nation, ii. 84.
Debts, civil, faults of the law with regard to them, iii. 376. Observations on publick debts, v. 281.
Deceitful men can never repent, vi. 10.
Declaration of Right, contains the principles of the Revolution of 1688, v. 50. Framed by Lord Somers, 53. Proceeds upon the principle of reference to antiquity, 75-8.
Defensive measures, though vigorous at first, relax by degrees, vii. 57. Necessary considerations with regard to them, ix. 111.
Definitions, frequently fallacious, i. 97.
Deformity not opposed to beauty, but to *complete*, *common form*, i. 220.
Deity, idea of power the most striking of his attributes, i. 174.
Delamere, Lord, extract from the account of his trial, xiv. 318.
Delight, what, i. 129. How derived from terror, 263. Compared with pleasure, 128. Derived sometimes from the misfortunes of others, 142. The attendant of every passion which animates us to any active purpose, 143.
Democracy, no example in modern times of a considerable one, v. 230. An absolute one, not to be reckoned among the legitimate forms of government, 230, 1. Aristotle's observation on the resemblance between a democracy and

and a tyranny, 231. Vice of the ancient democracies, v. 370. The foodful nurse of ambition, vi. 204.
Departments in France, origin of them, v. 312.
Depth has a grander effect than height, i. 179.
Description, verbal, a means of raising a stronger emotion than painting, i. 162.
Desirable things, always practicable, iii. 343.
Despotism, nature of it, ii. 231. xiii. 166-8.
D'Espreminel, the illustrious French magistrate, murdered by the revolutionists, ix. 38.
Dialogue, advantages and disadvantages of it as a mode of argumentation, ix. 165, 6.
Difference in taste, commonly so called, whence, i. 107, 8.
Difficulty, a source of greatness in taste, i. 187. Difficulty in morals, importance and advantage of it, v. 301, 2.
Dignity national, no standard for rating the conditions of peace, viii. 107.
Dimension, greatness of, a powerful cause of the sublime, i. 179. Necessary to the sublime in building, 185. But incompatible with beauty, 297.
Dinagepore, Rajah of, account of him, xvi. 318.
Diogenes, anecdote of him, vi. 73, 4.
Directory, the, by whom settled, x. 14. Rejected at the Revolution, *ibid.*
Disappointment, what, i. 130.
"*Discontents*," thoughts on the cause of the present, ii. 217. Produced by a system of favouritism, 259.
Discretion, Lord Coke's remark on it, vi. 359.
Discretionary powers of the monarch should be exercised upon publick principles, ii. 260.
Discrimination, a coarse one, the greatest enemy to accuracy of judgment, vii. 388.
Dissenters, observations on the Test Act against them, vi. 325.
Distress, great, never teaches wise lessons to mankind, vi. 12.
Distrust, advantages of it, vii. 166.
Disunion in Government, mischief of it, ii. 204.
Divorce, observations on, viii. 176.
Doomsday Book, origin and nature of it, x. 402.
"*Double Cabinet*," what, ii. 232. Nature and design of it, 240. Mischievous conduct of it, 271. How recommended at court, 279. Its operation upon Parliament, 286. Singular doctrine propagated by it, 329.
Drama, hints for an essay on it, x. 147.
Dramatic writing, difficulty of it, x. 147. Origin of it, 152, 3.
Druids, some account of their origin and character, x. 186. The opinion that their religion was founded on the unity of the Godhead, confuted, 198.

Dryden,

Dryden, his translation of a passage in Virgil, viii. 276.
Du Bos, his erroneous theory respecting the effect of painting, on the passions, i. 163.
Dupin, M. *de la Tour*, his account of the state of the army in France, v. 375.
Dunkirk, demolition of, ii. 187.
Dunning, Mr. brief character of him, iii. 394.
Durham, county palatine of, misgoverned until the reign of Charles II. iii. 89.
Duty, people do not like to be told of it, vi. 202. Dependent on the will, 204. Determined by our lot in life, iv. 44. 208. Effectual execution of it, how to be secured, iii. 338.

E.

East India Company, origin of it, xiii. 26. System of its service, 29. A fundamental part of their constitution, that the whole shall be a written government, 53. Two sources of its power, 22. Its negotiations with government, ii. 125. Observations on their charter, iv. 9. Extent and population of their possessions, 16-19. Observations on their conduct, 20. Their treatment of the nations indirectly subject to their authority, 44. 85. Concise view of the proceedings of the House of Commons relative to them, 159-181.
East Indies, origin of the extensive British possessions there, iv. 161, *note*.
Easter, whence the name derived, x. 261. Disputes about the time of celebrating it, promote the study of astronomy, 279.
Ecclesiastical establishment in England, observations on it, v. 190-6.
Ecclesiastical investitures, origin and nature of them, x. 437.
Economy and war not easily reconciled, ii. 59. Difficulty of attempting a plan of it, iii. 232-36. Admirable system of it, in France, by Necker, 238-44. Rules for a proper plan of it, 255-7. Things prescribed by the principles of radical economy, 285. Political economy had its origin in England, viii. 27. Description of real economy, 30, 1.
Education, effect of it on the colonists in America, iii. 54. Description of a good one, vi. 30. xvi. 268.
Edward the Confessor, his character and conduct, x. 310.
Election, popular, of magistrates, importance of it, ii. 263.

Right of, what, 304. Mischief of a frequent election, 319. x. 77. The charge of it, an important consideration, 80-3.

Elizabeth, sister of Louis XVI. murdered by the French regicides, ix. 40.

Empires, do not fall by their own weight, ix. 23.

Emphyteusis of the Romans, nature of it, ix. 390.

England, its constant policy with regard to France, vii. 109, 10. Eulogy on its constitution, viii. 49. Will always take the greatest share in any confederacy against France, vii. 109. viii. 91, 2. Natural representation of the people, what it is, 141. Nature of its monarchy, iii. 257-9.

Enmity, when avowed is always felt, ix. 59.

Enthusiasm, excited by other causes besides religion, viii. 237.

Eostre, a goddess worshipped by the Saxons, x. 260.

Epicureans, tolerated by the rest of the Heathen world, x. 32, 3. Their system of physics, the most rational of antiquity, x. 278. Why discredited, *ibid.*

Equity, criminal, a monster in jurisprudence, ii. 297.

Established Religion of the State, has often torn to pieces the civil establishment, ix. 395. Method adopted by the constitution respecting those publick teachers, who are to receive the support of the state, x. 13.

Established Church, ought to be defended, x. 37, 8.

Establishment, legal, grounds of a legislative alteration of it, x. 10.

Etiquette, advantages of it, viii. 329.

Europe, general division of it, previous to the universal diffusion of the Roman power, x. 165. The original inhabitants of Greece and Italy of the same race with the people of Northern Europe, 167. View of the state of Europe at the time of the Norman invasion, 369.

Evidence, circumstantial, remarks on it, xiv. 397.

Example, the only argument of effect in civil life, ii. 296. The only security against a corrupt one, what, iii. 196, 7. The school of mankind, ii. 205. viii. 197.

Executions, publick, observations on them, ix. 268.

Exercise, necessary to the finer organs, i. 265.

Expression, a clear one different from a strong one, i. 320, 1.

Eye, the, when beautiful, i. 244.

Eyre, Sir *Robert*, (Solicitor General) extract from his speech at the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, vi. 170.

F.

Factions, ought to be suppressed by government, x. 45.
Fame, a passion for it, the instinct of all great souls, ii. 424. The separation of it from virtue, a harsh divorce, iii. 203.
Fanaticism, epidemical, mischievous tendency of it, v. 278. May be caused as much by a theory concerning government, as by a *dogma* in religion, vi. 239.
Farmer, dangerous to try experiments on him, vii. 393. Amount of his usual profits, what, *ibid.* Difficulty of his task, 395-398.
Favouritism, a system of, at variance with the plan of the legislature, ii. 260.
Fear, cause of it, i. 259. Early and provident fear the mother of safety, x. 53.
Feeling, the beautiful in it, what, i. 247.
Female sex, the moral sensibility more acute in them than in men, xvi. 117.
Finance, new projects of, proceedings of men of sense with respect to them, ii. 131.
Finances, importance of them to a state, and difficulty of managing them, v. 403-5. Three standards to judge of the condition of a state with regard to them, ii. 84. Admirable management of the French finances, iii. 238-45.
Financier, duty of a judicious one in framing a plan of economy, ii. 108. And in securing a revenue, v. 405. 431.
Fire, why worshipped by the Druids, x. 194.
Firmness, a virtue only when it accompanies the most perfect wisdom, ii. 224.
Fitness, not the cause of beauty, i. 233. The real effects of it, 227.
Flattery, why so prevalent, i. 149.
Florence, the republick of, how originated, x. 375.
Force, its great and acknowledged effect and reputation not impaired by an unwillingness to exert itself, iii. 34. Use of it temporary, uncertain, and hurtful to the object which it is designed to preserve, 47.
Forest Lands, proposal to Parliament concerning them, iii. 272-4.
Foster, Judge, extract from his discourses, xiv. 313.
Fox, (Mr.) Mr. Burke's panegyric of him, iv. 129. Mr. Burke reluctantly dissents from his opinion concerning France, v. 10. Animadversion on his commendations of the French Revolution, vi. 92. vii. 223. Political principle maintained by him, vii. 247. His conduct contrasted with that of Mr. Pitt, 289.

France, prosperous state of it before the Revolution, viii. 81. From its vicinity, always has been and always must be an object of our vigilance with regard to its power or example, v. 7. Barbarous treatment suffered by the King and Queen at the Revolution, 138-146. Apostrophe to the Queen, 149. Chivalry of France extinguished by the Revolution, *ibid.* Remarks on its population, 235. Brief review of its condition before the Revolution, 235-243. Degraded office to which the King was appointed by the Revolutionists, 355-8. vi. 22-6. vii. 66. State of things there during the Revolution, vi. 85. Character of the King's brothers, vii. 149. The liberties of Europe dependent on its being a great and preponderating power, 186. Observations on the sufferings of the Queen, ix. 39. Character of the aristocracy before the Revolution, v. 251-3, ix. 38.

French monied interests at variance with the landed interests, v. 206. Literary cabal, their plan for the destruction of Christianity, 207-270, 1. Frenchmen naturally more intense in their application than Englishmen, vi. 67. Mischievous consequences of this, *ibid.* French emigrants in England, capable of being serviceable in restoring the monarchy to France, vii. 146.

French Revolution, characterized as one of *doctrine and theoretick dogma*, vii. 13. Its fundamental principle, 18.

French Directory, the, characters of the members of it, viii. 346. Their conduct to the foreign ambassadors, ix. 48.

Franchise and office, difference between them, vi. 311. Effect of separating property from it, 315.

Franklin, Doctor, conjectures on his visit to Paris, ix. 163.

Freedom, the great contests for it in England, chiefly on the question of taxation, iii. 50. But in the ancient commonwealths, chiefly on the right of election of magistrates, or on the balance among the several orders of the state, *ibid.* Character of civil freedom, 184, 5. Our best securities for it obtained from princes who were even warlike or prodigal, ix. 33.

" *Friends* of the People," origin and proceedings of the club so called, vii. 229. A seditious petition of theirs, 273.

" *Friends* of the liberty of the Press," a club formed under the auspices of Mr. Fox, vii. 239. Origin and character of it, *ibid.*

Frugality, founded on the principle that all riches have limits, iii. 282

G.

Gaming, the passion for it, inherent in human nature, iii. 263. A general spirit of it encouraged by the Revolutionists in France, v. 345. Not unpleasant, vi. 12. They who are under its influence, treat their fortunes lightly, 254.

Garrick, an anecdote of him, ix. 47.

Gauls, their early incursions into Greece and Italy, x. 168. Reduced at last under the Romans by Caius Cæsar, 169. Policy of Cæsar with regard to them, 170.

Geneva, difficulty it has to contend with, vii. 402.

Genoa, republick of, how originated, x. 375.

Gentoos, the original inhabitants of Hindostan, xiii. 63-72. Distribution of the people, 67. Origin and character of their laws, 200. Extracts from Halhed's translation of them, xv. 67.

Gentoo Law, the primæval law of India, xv. 67.

George II., his character, ii. 243.

George III., state of the nation, and proceedings of government, at his accession, ii. 235.

Germanick Custumary, the source of the polity of every country in Europe, viii. 182.

Germans, of Scythian original, x. 363. Brief account of their manners and institutions, 328.

Germany, how likely to be affected by the Revolution in France, vii. 25. The outlines of the constitution of England originated there, x. 328. 9.

Ghinges Khan, observations on his code, xv. 73.

Gibraltar, importance of it to England, vii. 91.

Glastonbury Abbey, its extraordinary wealth and splendour, x. 270.

Go-betweens, what, vi. 236. The world governed by them, *ibid.*

Good fame, of every man, ought to be protected by the laws, x. 215, 16.

Gothick custumary, the source of the polity of all the nations in Europe, viii. 182.

Government, forms of a free one not altogether incompatible with the ends of an arbitrary one, ii. 229. Project of government devised in the court of Frederick Prince of Wales, ii. 232. Considered, 236, 7. Nature and design of it, 248. Name of it, 256. Important ends of a mixed government, 260. viii. 367. x. 73. Folly of hazarding plans of government, except from a seat of authority, iii. 29. Government, a practical thing, iii. 182-4. v. 122-6. Character of a free one, iii 183. An eminent criterion

of a wise one, 246. Reform in it should be early and temperate, iii. 247, 8. Without means of some change, is without the means of its conservation, v. 59. Difficulty of framing a free one, 434. The particular form of it to be determined by the circumstances and habits of a country, vi. 133. A theory concerning it may be the cause of fanaticism as much as a dogma in religion, 239. The establishment of one, a difficult undertaking for foreign powers to act in as principals, vii. 126. Not subject to the laws that regulate the duration of individuals, 366. viii. 78, 9. *Restraint*, the great purpose of it, vii. 375. viii. 23, 24. Policy of it in times of scarcity, vii. 403, 4. Important problem concerning it, 416. Perishes only through its own weakness, 419. Impossible, without property, viii. 255, 6. Ought to attend much to opinions, x. 43. Stands on opinion, 93.

Grace, acts of, impolicy of them, iii. 378, 9.

Gracefulness, an idea belonging to *posture* and *motion*, i. 246.

Granaries, publick, danger of erecting them, vii. 400. Only fit for a state too small for agriculture, 402.

Grand Seignior, the, not an arbitrary monarch, xiii. 177.

Great personages. wisely provided that we should interest ourselves in their fate, xv. 197. Always made the objects of tragedy, *ibid.*

Greece, its original inhabitants of the same race as the people of northern Europe, x. 167. Situation of it from a remote period, 168.

Greek Church, character of its clergy, vi. 285.

Green Cloth, court of, its origin, iii. 277.

Grenville, Mr. character of him, ii. 389.

Grenville, Lord, eulogy of him, viii. 4.

Grief, nature of it, i. 130.

Guienne, *William*, Duke of, engages in the Crusade, x. 426.

Guilt, when gigantic, often overpowers our ideas of justice, vii. 194. Expedients for concealing it, frequently the cause of its detection, xiii. 275. Is never wise, 274, 5. xv. 136.

H.

" *Habeas Corpus*," remarks upon the suspension of it, iii. 146-9.

Habit and use, not the causes of pleasure, i. 222.

Hale, Sir *Matthew*, Cromwell's declaration to him when he appointed him judge, vi. 15, 16. Defect in his history of the Common Law, x. 551. Causes of it, *ibid.*

Halhed's translation of the Gentoo Code, remarks on it, xv. 67.
Hallmote, or Court Baron, what, x. 339.
Hannay, Colonel, his character and conduct, xv. 341.
Happiness, civil, what, vii. 378.
Hardwicke, Lord, his declaration on rules of evidence, xiv. 377-9.
Harrington, his opinion on the government of a state without property, viii. 256.
Hastings, Mr. Articles of charge against him presented to the House of Commons, 1786, xi. 370. xii. 321. Appendix to the VIIIth and XVIth Charges, xii. 321-328. Speeches of Mr. Burke on the Impeachment of him, xiii. i.—xiv. 281. Report from the Committee, on inspection of the Lords' Journals, in relation to their proceedings on his trial, with the Appendix, 281. His conduct in the treaty with the Mahrattas, iv. 30. His treatment of the Nabob of Oude, 46. His treatment of the Begums, 57. 69-73. Arrests the Rajah of Benares, xi. 411. Gives orders for the seizure of the treasures of the Begums, 448. Authorizes the Nabob of Oude to seize upon, and confiscate to his own profit, the landed estates of his parents, kindred, and principal nobility, 455. Endeavours to stifle an enquiry into his proceedings, xii. 68, 9. Regulations of the East India Company with respect to the violation of their orders by Mr. Hastings, 119. His conduct with regard to the allowance to Sir Eyre Coote, 129. And to Brigadier General Stibbert, 130, 1. And to Sir John Day, 133, 4. And to the government of Fort William, 135, 6. And with regard to the supply of grain at Fort St. George, 138. Charged with the violation of the orders of the East India Company, in the case of Munny Begum, 145. And of the Phousdar of Houghly, 147. And in the case of money which he admitted he had privately received, 157. Tenders his resignation, by Mr. Lauchlin Maclaine, 167. Edward Wheler, esq. is appointed in his room, 168, 9. Mr. H. denies that his office is vacated, 170. General Clavering presides in Council as Governor General of Bengal, on the presumed resignation of Mr. H. 170. His irregular proceedings subsequent to his resignation, 171. Decision of the Judges on the proceedings of General Clavering, 173. His conduct with regard to the Surgeon General, 189. And to Archibald Frazer, esq. 190. He appoints R. J. Sullivan to the office of Resident at the Durbar of the Nabob of Arcot, 203. Recommends a

treaty with the Ranna of Gohud, 205. His conduct with regard to the landed estates of Bengal, 213. Permits his own Banyan to hold farms to a large amount in different districts, in violation of his own regulations, 217. Changes the system of the collection of the publick revenue, and the administration of civil and criminal justice, by provincial councils, throughout the provinces, 224. Refuses to relieve the distress of the Nabob of Oude, 239. Illegally assumes the delegation of the whole functions of the Council, for the purpose of entering into a treaty with the Nabob of Arcot, 247, 8. Unnecessarily burdens the Nabob of Oude with the maintenance of troops, to the destruction of British discipline, by diffusing among them a general spirit of peculation, 253. Receives unlawful presents from, and makes unjustifiable demands on the Nabob of Oude, 254. Urges the capital punishment of Almas Ali Khân, on his simple allegation of offences, 310. Establishes in the government a system of disreputable and ruinous interference, 323. Attempts to abandon the British army to the discretion of the Nabob of Oude, 328. Gives order for the imprisonment of Mahomet Reza Khân, without proofs of his guilt, 349. Appoints Munny Begum to be guardian to the Nabob of Bengal, 355. Endeavours to aggrandize the power of the Mahrattas, 372-405. The Mogul delivered up to them, through his instrumentality, 372. He libels and asperses the Court of Directors, 405. Forces the Mahrattas into a war, by repeatedly invading their country, 418. Concludes a dishonourable treaty of perpetual alliance with them, 439. His conduct with regard to the rights of Fyzoola Khân, 455. 464. Demands five thousand horse from Fyzoola Khân, 481. His conduct with regard to the treaty of Chunar, 492. Consequences of the treaty, 499. Confiscates the estates of the nobility of Bengal, xiii. 230. Appoints Gunga Govin Sing to receive presents and corrupt bribes, 283. Throws off his responsibility, by delegating his power to a nominal council, 341. Proceeds to Benares with an illegal commission, xv. 147. His treatment of the women and children of the Rajah Sujah ul Dowlah, xvi. 90. Effect of his conduct on the revenues and prosperity of the province of Oude, 141, 2. Nature of the government exercised by him in Bengal, 174, 5. His conduct in the appointment of a successor to Mahmed Reza Khân, 186. And with regard to the article

article of contracts, 290. Charged with taking a bribe of £.100,000 from the Nabob of Oude, 325, 6. Violates the treaty of Porunda, 400.
Hawles, Sir John, extract from his speech at the trial of Doctor Sacheverel, vi. 154-167.
Height, less grand than depth, i. 179.
Helvetii, remarkable emigration of them related by Cæsar, x. 182.
Henry I. of England, brief account of his reign, x. 428.
Henry II. of England, brief account of his reign, x. 451.
Henry IV. of England, his conduct relative to the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster, iii. 267.
Henry IV. of France, brief character of him, v. 249, 50.
Hii, or Columkill, brief account of it, x. 276.
Hindostan, eras in its history, xiii. 75.
Hindû Religion, its tendency, xiii. 70. Hindû polity destroyed by Mr. Hastings, 85.
History, moral lessons to be drawn from it, v. 257, 8. 261, 2. vii. 196 Caution with regard to the study of it, 198, 9.
Hobbes, a remark of his on war, i. 17.
Holland, Sir *John*, extract from his speech at the trial of Doctor Sacheverel, vi. 180.
Holy Land, view of the condition of it at the commencement of the third crusade, x. 490.
Homer, his art in framing similitudes, i. 107. A simile from the Iliad, 127. His representation of discord, obscure and magnificent, 167. No instance, in the Iliad, of the fall of any man remarkable for great strength touches us with pity, 298. Has given to the Trojans more of the amiable and social virtues than to the Greeks, *ibid.* The passion he desires to raise with regard to the Trojans, is pity; admiration, with regard to the Greeks, 298, 299. His masterly representation of the grief of Priam at the death of Hector, vi. 115. Observation on his representation of the ghosts of heroes at the sacrifices of Ulysses, x. 193. His works first introduced into England by Theodorus, Archbishop of Canterbury, 275.
Honest men, no safety for them but by believing evil of evil men, vi. 9.
Horace, the truth of an assertion in his Art of Poetry, discussed, i. 163. A passage from him in confirmation of Mr. Burke's theory of the Sublime, 175.
Household, The Royal, has strong traces of *feudality*, iii. 276.
House of Lords. *see* Lords.
House of Commons. *see* Commons.
Howard, the Philanthropist, his character, iii. 380.

Hudibras, humorous lines from, applicable to the modern whigs, vi. 185.
Hume, Mr. his account of the secret of Rousseau's principles of composition, v. 308. His remarks on John Ball, vii. 58.
Humility, true, the basis of the Christian system, vi. 31. Humanity cannot be degraded by it, viii. 102.
Husbandry, classification of labourers in, vii. 388.
Hyder Ali Khan (Chief of the Western Division of the Carnatic) scheme of the creditors of the Nabob of Arcot, to expel him from his territory, iv. 258. Dreadful devastation caused by him in the plains of the Carnatic, 259.
Hypæthra of the Greeks, what, x. 200, 1.

I.

Imagination, what, i. 104. No bounds to men's passions when they are influenced by it, vi. 239.
Imitation, one of the passions belonging to society, i. 147. Its source and use, *ibid.*
Impeachment, the great guardian of the purity of the constitution, ii. 292.
Impey, Sir Elijah, order to seize the treasures of the Begums, carried by him, xv. 415, 16.
Indecision, the natural accomplice of violence, vi. 237.
Indemnification, one of the requisites of a good peace, ii. 39.
Indemnity, Acts of, probable effects of them as means of reconciling France to a monarchy, vii. 187.
Independence of mind, always more or less influenced by independence of fortune, x. 81.
India, people of, classification of, xiii. 62, 3, xv. 67.
Indifference, pleasure, and pain, three states of the mind, i. 123.
Indolence, the prevailing characteristic of the fashionable class of mankind, x. 150.
Industry, danger of discouraging it, ix. 388, 9.
Infinite, artificial, consists of succession and uniformity of parts, i. 182. 276.
Infinity, an approach towards it, a source of the sublime, i. 166. 180. In pleasing objects, a cause of pleasure, 186.
Influence of the Crown, operation of it, ii. 229.
Inheritance, excellency of the principle of it in the British constitution, v. 78-81.
Injury, is quick and rapid, justice is slow, xiii. 405, 6. xv. 33.
Innocence, contrasted with guilt, xiii. 55, 56.
Insolvency, who ought to suffer in a case of, v. 212.

Institutions

Institutions, ancient judicial ones in England, intended to retard the headlong course of violence and oppression, iii. 140. Soundness of the materials, of more importance than the fashion of the work, in political institutions, vii. 361. Not subject to the laws that regulate the duration of individuals, 366. How to be established, 367, 8. Benefits of them, x. 16.

Interest of a debt, the only thing that can distress a nation, ii. 84.

Intolerance, mischief of it, x. 35.

Ireland, danger of a proposed tax upon it, ii. 112. Early and uninterrupted participation in the laws and institutions of England, iii. 82. Two letters to the merchants of Bristol, relative to the trade of Ireland, 207. Mr. Burke's defence of his conduct with regard to it, 367. Recent plan for the government of Ireland, vi. 288. The true revolution there, when, 339. State of religion there before the grant of Pope Adrian, ix. 376. Nature of the grant, 377. Importance of Ireland to Great Britain, 459, 60. Reduction of it by Henry II. 470. Previous condition of it, 471. Nature of the country, *ibid.* Motives which led Adrian IV. to commission Henry II. to reduce it, 474. The English laws said to be established there in the reign of John, 518.

Irish Language, names of the letters of it taken from the names of several species of trees, x. 473.

Isocrates, remark of his, in one of his orations against the Sophists, i. 5.

Italy, the original inhabitants of the same race as the people of northern Europe, x. 167. Its situation from a remote period, 168.

J.

Jaghires, Indian, nature of them, xv. 385, 6.

Jacobinism by establishment, what, viii. 170.

Jacobins, their character, vii. 159. ix. 404. Their object, vii. 263.

Jacquirie, in France, insurrection and subjugation of it, vi. 219.

Jekyl, Sir *Joseph*, extract from his speech at the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, vi. 160-3. 168. 175. His character, 159.

Jews, a source of great revenue to William the Conqueror, x. 399.

Job, a passage in that book amazingly sublime, i. 166. The noble description of the war-horse, 170. And of the wild ass, 171. And of the unicorn and leviathan, *ibid.*

John, King of England, brief account of his reign, x. 503.

Judgment and Wit, difference between them, i. 106. Ought to regulate the reports of the senses, iv. 200, 1. A coarse discrimination the greatest enemy to an accurate judgment, vii. 388.
Judge, duty of one, xiv. 411. Judges ought to be the last to feel the necessities of the state, iii. 336.
Juries, not an institution suddenly formed, x. 120. Not instituted by Alfred, *note*, 294.
Juridical act different from a legistive one, x 66.
Jurisprudence, nature and importance of the science, v. 181, 2. Character of it in France, viii. 168. State of the study of it in England, x. 551. Whole frame of it altered since the Conquest, 553.
Justice is slow, injury quick and rapid, xiii. 405, 6. xv. 33. General observations on it, xvi. 415-17.

K.

Keppel, Lord, character of him, viii. 64.
Khan, *Ghinges*, observations on his code, xv. 73.
Kilkenny, statutes of, prove the ancient existence of the spirit of the Popery laws, vi. 336.
King, the things in which he has an individual concern, ii. 279. Nature of his office, v. 357. His extensive power, vi. 62.
Kings, naturally lovers of low company, iii. 318. In what sense the servants of the people, v. 71.
" *King's Men*," or " King's Friends," character of the court corporation so called, ii. 237-256.
Knight-errantry, origin of it, x. 446.

L.

Labour, necessary, why, i. 264. Called by the ancients *instrumentum vocale*, vii. 383. Is that on which a man is most to rely for the repayment of his capital, *ibid.* Ancient classification of it, *ibid.*
Labourer, and employer, an implied contract always between them, vii. 380. His first and fundamental interest, what, 384.
Labouring poor, impropriety of the expression, vii. 377. viii. 368.
Lacedemonians, at the head of the aristocratic interests of Greece, vii. 17.
La Fontaine has not an original story, x. 147.
Lancaster, duchy and county palatine of, conduct of Henry IV. relative to them, iii. 267.

Lanefranc, character of him, x. 416.
Landed interests, conduct of the French Republick with regard to them, vii. 19. Landed property the firm basis of every stable government, viii. 400. Landed estates of the Crown, remarks on, iii. 271.
Landisforn, brief account of it, x. 276.
Langton, Stephen, his appointment to the See of Canterbury through the influence of the Pope, x. 516. 521. Oath administered by him to John on his absolution, 525.
Lawful enjoyment, the surest method to prevent unlawful gratification, vi. 315.
Law, remarks on the study of it, ii. 389.
Law's, Missisippi scheme, character of it, v. 427.
Laws of England, essay towards the history of them, x. 549.
Laws, can reach but a little way, ii. 260. Their severity tempered by trial by jury, 297. Superseded by occasions of public necessity, iii. 308. 9. Bad ones the worst sort of tyranny, iii. 390. Cannot wholly influence manners, vii. 417. Civil laws not all merely positive, viii. 185. Two things necessary to the solid establishment of them, ix. 350. Equity and utility, the two foundations of them, 353. Ought to be in unison with manners, x. 27. Written in England, in the native language until the Norman conquest, 557. Written in other northern nations in Latin, *ibid.* Reason of this difference, *ibid.*
Laws of Canute the Great, remarks on them, x. 560. Review of the sanctions of the ancient Saxon laws, 561. Sources of them, 564.
Laws, Mahometan, sources of them, xiii. 197.
—— Gentoo, sources of them, xiii. 200.
" *Law* of neighbourhood," what, viii. 185.
" *Law Suit*," observations on that Comedy, x. 156.
Learning an attention to it necessary to Christianity, x. 271, 2. Contributed, in the early ages, to the influence of the clergy, 457, 8.
Lechmere, Mr. extract from his speech at the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, vi. 149.
Legislative right, not to be exercised without regard to the general opinion of those who are to be governed, iii. 179. A legislative act different from a juridical one, x. 66.
Legislation, important problem in it, vii. 416.
Legislators, bound only by the great principles of reason and equity, and the general sense of mankind, iii. 144, 5. Character of a wise legislator, v. 305. His duties, vii. 416. ix. 348. The mode of proceeding of the ancient legislators, v. 330.

Legislature, true end of it, what, iii. 180. v. 306. Rights of it, with regard to the succession of the crown, vi. 165.
Leland, Doctor, his able refutation of infidelity, x. 36.
Length, too great in buildings, prejudicial to grandeur of effect, i. 185.
Libel, parts of it, what, x. 117.
Libelling, not the crime of an illiterate people, x. 114.
Liberty and Commerce, the two main sources of power to Great Britain, iii. 7. Mistakes about liberty, 184,5. Cannot long exist where the people are generally corrupt, 201. Necessity of regulating it, v. 37. 433. How men are qualified for it, vi. 64. Mr. Burke's declaration of his ideas concerning it, 118. ix. 424. Difficulty of a contrivance fitted to unite publick and private liberty, vi. 263. Review of the causes of the Revolution in favour of it in the reign of King John, x. 546.
Light, produces an idea of greatness, i. 190. When excessive, resembles darkness in its effects, 191. Light and riant colours unfavourable to the sublime, 194.
Limerick, treaty of, observations on it, ix. 380.
Liturgy of the Established Church, alteration in it, x. 14.
Locke, Mr. an opinion of his concerning pleasure and pain, considered, i. 126. His opinion concerning darkness considered, 276.
Longinus, a remark of his on the effect of sublime passages in the works of orators and poets, i. 150.
Lords, House of, affected alarm at a supposed intrenchment by it on the balance of the Constitution in the reign of George II. ii. 244. Influence of it, 245. The feeblest part of the Constitution, vii. 275.
Loudness, a source of the sublime, i. 194.
Louis XIV. his conduct at the peace of Ryswick; reason given by him for the revocation of the edict of Nantz, ix. 358, 9. His dislike to his minister Louvois, v. 359.
Louis XVI. barbarous treatment experienced by him at the Revolution, v. 138-148. vi. 22. Unjustly called an arbitrary monarch; degraded office to which he was appointed by the revolutionists, 355-8. vi. 22, 6, vii. 66. Not the first cause of the evils by which he suffered, His character, viii. 257. Character of his brothers, vii. 149.
Love, its origin and nature, i. 151. vi. 37. The physical cause of it, what, 285. Observations on the love of parents to their children, xv. 346. And on the love of country, *ibid.* v. 100. 352.

Lucretius,

Lucretius, passages from him, illustrative of the theory of the sublime, i. 175. 315.
Luxury, some good consequences of it, ii. 203. A tax on it, the only contribution that can be called voluntary, viii. 362.

M.

Machiavel, an observation of his on war, i. 17. A maxim of his, ix. 42.
Madmen, singular fact concerning them accounted for, i. 182.
Magna Charta, observations on it, v. 75. vi. 328. Origin and nature of it, x. 532-35.
Magnanimity in politicks often the truest wisdom, iii. 126.
Magnificence, a source of the sublime, i. 187.
Magnitude, in buildings necessary to the sublime, i. 185.
Mahomet Rheza Khan, arrested by Mr. Hastings, xiii. 448. *Mahometan* government, character of it, xiii. 175, 6. Progress of the doctrines of Mahomet in Hindostan, xiii. 76.
Mahometan laws, sources of them, xiii. 197. xv. 78.
Majority, in a commonwealth, what, v. 109. vi. 215, 16. Not true that in all contests the decision will be in their favour, x. 56.
Malesherbes, murdered by the French revolutionists, ix. 38.
Malvoisins, what, x. 445.
Man becomes, in his progress through life, a creature of habit and opinions, iii. 191. xvi. 117.
Manifestoes, on what occasion commonly made, vii. 119. Matters usually contained in them, *ibid.*
Manilla ransom, remarks on it, ii. 182.
Manners, while they remain entire, correct the vices of law, iii. 152. Corrupted by civil wars, *ibid.* Maintained in Europe for ages by the spirit of nobility and of religion, v. 154. In England, influenced by France, 156. Had done alone in England what institutions and manners together had done in France, vii. 23. Statesmen ought to know what appertains to them, 417. Of more importance than laws, viii. 172. Laws ought to harmonize with them, x. 27.
Mansfield, Lord, his declaration on rules of evidence, xiv. 385, 6.
Mara, an ancient Saxon goddess, x. 261.
Maratta, invaded by the East India Company, iv. 28. Treaty with them, 30.
Marriage, importance of the Christian doctrine concerning it, viii. 174. Endeavours of the French National Assembly

sembly to desecrate it, 175. Restraints upon it in the reign of King John, x. 536.
Marriage Act, principles upon which it is founded, x. 135.
Mathematical and metaphysical reasoning different from moral, x. 74.
Matrimony, its objects, x. 136.
Mazarin, Cardinal, not loved by Louis XIV. v. 359. Saying of his on settling the match between Louis XIV. and a daughter of Spain, ix. 14, 15.
Mediterranean Sea, importance to England of keeping a strong naval force there, viii. 312.
Meer Jaffier, appointed Nabob of Bengal, xiii. 97.
Merchants, English, evidence given by them to Parliament, respecting America, ii. 171. 179. Qualities of them, what, iv. 95.
Mercy, not opposed to justice, vii. 193. ix. 277. Consists not in the weakness of the means, but in the benignity of the ends, ix. 182.
Metaphysician, nothing harder than the heart of a thorough bred one, viii. 56.
Migration, in early times, caused by pasturage and hunting, x. 180. And by wars, 181.
Militia, probable origin of it, x. 485.
Military life, observation on it, viii. 365.
Military officer, the qualifications of an able one, viii. 369, 70.
Milton, his admirable description of Death, i. 161. His celebrated portrait of Satan, 164. His fine description of the Deity, 191. Example from him of the beautiful in sounds, 250. Of noble painting, 319.
Ministers, conduct of several, during the French Revolution, vii. 62. British, to be controlled by the House of Commons, 285. Observations on their duty in giving information to the publick, ix. 7.
Minority, advantages possessed by a discontented one over the majority, viii. 141, 2.
Misletoe, why venerated by the Druids, x. 196.
Modes of life, advantages of them, v. 283. Injustice of disturbing them, *ibid.*
Modesty, excellence of it, i. 232. vii. 371. Ought to be regulated, *ibid.*
Mogul Empire, Charter granted by it to the East India Company, iv. 161, *note*. xiii. 22.
Mogul, the Great, sold by the East India Company, iv. 22. Treaty with him alleged to be broken by them, 27. Conspiracy to murder his son, xiii. 109.

Mohun, Lord, extract from the account of his trial, xiv. 319.
Mona, (the Island of Anglesea) the principal residence of the Druids in the beginning of the reign of Nero, x. 210. Reduced by Suetonius Paulinus, 210, 11.
Moral duties, not necessary that the reasons of the practice of them should be clear to all, i. 7.
Mortality, a general one, always a time of remarkable wickedness, x. 88.
Monarchy, preferred by Bolingbroke to other governments, v. 232. One of its characters, to have no local seat, vii. 151.
Monasteries, advantages of the early ones, v. 285, 6. x. 271.
Money, the value of it how to be judged, viii. 352.
Monied Companies, dangerous to tax great ones, ii. 133. Ought to be allowed to set a value on their money, viii. 354.
——— interests, when formidable to a government, v. 281, 2.
Monk, General, character of the army commanded by him, vi. 44.
Monopoly of authority, an evil; of capital, a benefit, vii. 397.
Montesquieu, his remark on the legislators of antiquity, v. 332. Character of him, vi. 263. His erroneous character of the people of India, xv. 67.
Moral order of things, the view of great disasters in it attended with similar advantages to those which we derive from a contemplation of miracles in the physical, v. 157. Moral questions never abstract, x. 58. Moral reasoning different from mathematical, 74.
Multitudes, shouting of a great one, a cause of the sublime, i. 195. A majority of the multitude, *told by the head*, not the PEOPLE, vi. 210-216.
Munny Begum, appointed by Mr. Hastings to succeed Mahomet Rheza Khan, xvi. 195.
Musick, observation concerning the beautiful in it, i. 250.
Mystery, in all matters of policy, infers a fraud, xvi. 6.

N.

Nabob of Arcot (Mahomet Ali) the Subah of Deccan sold to him by the East India Company, iv. 25. Nature of his debts, 187. 209. 217.
Nabob of Oude, treatment of him by the East India Company, iv. 44.
Nantz, edict of, reason assigned by Louis XIV. for the revocation of it, ix. 259. Observations on it, 259, 60.

Naples, how likely to be affected by the Revolution in France, vii. 35.
Nation, state of it in 1770, ii. 220. Speculation of the ministry on the cause of it, 221. Animadversions on them, 222.
" *Nation*, present state of the," animadversions on a pamphlet so called, ii. 9. Purpose of it, 12.
National Assembly of France, corresponds with the Revolution Society of London, v. 32. Character of it, 102. 297. Studies recommended by it to the youth of France, vi. 30. Endeavours to imitate Rousseau, *ibid.*
Natural power in man, the senses, the imagination, and the judgment, i. 99.
Nature, state of, inconveniencies of it, i. 11.
——— the social, impels a man to propagate his principles, viii. 237.
Navigation, Act of, observations on it, ii. 144.
Navy, the great danger of economical experiments upon it, ii. 104.
Necessity, invincible, remarks on it, viii. 348.
Negro Slaves, remarks on all attempts to excite an insurrection among them by proclamation in the colonies, ix. 185.
Negro Code, sketch of it, ix. 285.
Neighbourhood, law of, what, viii. 185-7.
Newfoundland, view of the trade with it, ii. 72.
Newspapers, powerful influence of them, in producing the Revolution in France, vii. 24.
Nezzar, or Nezzeranah, what, xiii. 432.
Night, a cause of the sublime, i. 160. 193.
Norman conquest, extraordinary facility of it, x. 322. Attempt to account for it, 323. The great era of the English laws, 565.
Normandy, reunion of it to the crown of France, x. 512, 13.
North, Lord, observations on his character, viii. 14. ix. 243.
Novelty, the first and simplest source of pleasure to the mind, i. 121. The danger of indulging a desire for it in practical cases, vi. 92.
Nundcomer accuses Mr. Hastings of corruption, xiii. 242, 3.

O.

Oak, the, why venerated by the Druids, x. 195.
Oath, The coronation, observations on it with respect to the Roman Catholicks, vi. 319.
Obscurity, generally necessary to produce an impression of terror or sublimity, i. 160. Why more affecting than clearness, 164.
Obstinacy, though a great and very mischievous vice, closely allied to the masculine virtues, ii. 424.
Office, men too much conversant in it, have rarely enlarged minds, ii. 390.
Offices, the meanest, why held in feudal times by considerable persons, iii. 276.
Officers, military, nature of the fortitude required of them, viii. 369, 70.
Opinion, popular, an equivocal test of merit, viii. 16. The generality of it not to be judged of by the noise of the acclamation, 142. Publick opinion the basis of authority, iii. 179. ix. 178. x. 97.
Opinions, men impelled to propagate their own by the social nature, viii. 237. Frequently guide and direct the affections, 290. x. 45. The most decided often stated in the form of questions, ix. 24. The interest and duty of government to attend much to them, x. 45.
Oppression, the poorest and most illiterate, proper judges of it, vi. 346.
Orange, prince of, (afterwards William III.) extracts from his Declaration, vi. 181.
Ordeal, purgation by it, x. 354.
Oude, extent and government of it, xv. 283.

P.

Pain, pleasure, and indifference, the three states of the mind, i. 123. Difference between the removal of it and positive pleasure, 125. Cause of it, 259. How a cause of delight, 263.
Paine, Thomas, remarks on his character, ix. 62, 3. x. 466.
Painting and Poetry, when the pleasures arising from either spring from the pleasures of imitation, and when from those of sympathy, i. 148.
Pandulph, the Pope's legate, his politick dealing with king John, x. 521. Parallel between his conduct to king John, and that of the Roman Consuls to the Carthaginians in the last Punick war, 523.

Papal pretensions, origin of them, x. 437, 8.
Papal power, uniform steadiness of it in the pursuit of its ambitious projects, x. 518.
Papal states, how likely to be affected by the Revolution in France, vii. 36.
Parliament, remarks on it, ii. 286, 7. Power of dissolving it, the most critical and delicate of trusts vested in the crown, iv. 152. Disadvantages of triennial parliaments, x. 81-9.
Parliament of France, character of it, v. 366, 7. Observations on its subversion, xvi. 418.
Parliamentary disorders, ideas for the cure of them, ii. 318-24.
Parsimony, a leaning towards it in war may be the worst management, ii. 59.
Party divisions inseparable from free government, ii. 9. Character of a party, 335. Mischievous tendency of them, ix. 425.
Passions, all belong either to self-preservation or society, i. 132. Final cause of the difference between those that belong to self-preservation and those which regard the society of the sexes, 136. Those which belong to self-preservation turn upon pain and danger, 150. An indulgence of them incompatible with freedom, vi. 64. Strong ones awaken the faculties, viii. 143. Do not always indicate an infirm judgment, 295. Passions which interest men in the characters of others, x. 151. Mere general truths interfere very little with them, ix. 356.
Pasturage and hunting weaken those ties which attach men to any particular habitation, x. 180.
Paulus, observations of his on law, ix. 354.
Peace, requisites of a good one, ii. 39. A judgment may be formed of what it is likely to be, from the steps that are made to bring it about, viii. 100. A good ground of it never laid until it has been nearly concluded, 110. An arrangment of it in its nature a permanent settlement, 221.
People, accurate idea of the term, vi. 210. Danger of an abuse of it, vii. 127. Temper of them the chief study of a statesman, ii. 219. Not always blamable in time of publick disorders, 224. Generally fifty years behindhand in their politicks, 226. A connexion with their interests a necessary qualification of a minister, 263. Sense of them how to be ascertained by the King, 267. Ought to have the power to protect their representatives, 302.

302. Liberty cannot long exist where they are generally corrupt, iii. 201. People of England love a mitigated monarchy more than even a good republick, vi. 184. Danger of teaching them to disregard their moral obligations to their governors, 202. The natural control on authority, 204. Dangerous tendency of a power capable of resisting even their erroneous choice of an object, ix. 322. Points in which they are incompetent to give advice to their representatives, x. 75, 6.

Penal statute of William III. against the Papists, repeal of it, iii. 385-95.

Perfection not the cause of beauty, i. 231.

Persecution, religious, an observation of Mr. Bayle on it, ix. 365. General observations on it, 429.

Persecutor, a violent one, frequently an unbeliever in his own creed, ix. 95.

Peshcush, what, xiii. 432.

Peters, Hugh, remarks on his sermon, v. 132, 3.

Petition of Right, recognises the inheritable nature of the English Crown, v. 76.

Philosophical enquiries, how to be conducted, 84. Use of them, 87.

Philosophy, Lord Bolingbroke's, animadversions on it, i. 6.

Physick, the profession of it, in ancient times, annexed to the priesthood, x. 195.

Physiognomy has a considerable share in the beauty of the human species, i. 243.

Pilgrimages, early advantages of them, x. 272, 3.

Pitt, Mr., remarks on his conduct, vii. 286. His admirable *Declaration* on the war with the French republick, viii. 132-4. ix. 16-18. Eulogy of his speech on the war with France, viii. 275.

Place Bill, proposed remedy for Parliamentary disorders, ii. 321.

Plagues, in Athens and in London, wickedness remarkably prevalent during their continuance, x. 88.

Pleasure and Pain, observations on them, i. 123. Pleasure, pain, and indifference, three states of the mind, *ibid.* Pleasures which belong to society, 134.

Poetry more powerful than painting in moving the passions, i. 163. Does not depend for its effect on the raising of sensible images, 302. This exemplified, 308. Affects rather by sympathy than imitation, 315. Descriptive poetry operates chiefly by substitution, 316.

Poland, character of the revolution there, vi. 243. Contrasted with the revolution in France, 246. vii. 28, 29.

Policy, a refined one, the parent of confusion, iii. 31. Inseparable from justice, v. 283.
Political economy had its origin in England, viii. 27.
Political connexion, held honourable in the ancient commonwealths, ii. 332-4. Remarks on it, 335-41. An injudicious or mischievous system not necessarily of short duration, vii. 55.
Politician, duty of a true one, v. 431, 3, 4.
Politicks ought to be adjusted to human nature, ii. 170. Different in different ages, 225. Unsuitable to the pulpit, v. 43.
Polybius, anecdote concerning him, vi. 350.
Poor, the labouring, their poverty owing to their numbers, vii. 376. Proper compassion for them, what, 377. viii. 367, 8.
Pope, the, his disputes with Henry I. x. 439. Treatment of him by the French Revolutionists, viii. 309. His motives for giving Henry II. a commission to conquer Ireland, x. 474.
Popular election, remarks on, x. 73.
Popular opinion, an equivocal test of merit, viii. 16.
Population, rapid increase of it in America, iii. 35. State of it, a certain standard by which to estimate the effects of a government on any country, v. 235. Review of the state of it in France, *ibid.* Effects of peace and war on it compared, viii. 375.
Porunda, treaty of, broken by Mr. Hastings, xvi. 400.
Power, all sublimity a modification of it, i. 168, 169. Originates wholly from God, xiii. 166. Incompatible with credit, ii. 132. The civil power, when it calls in the aid of the military, perishes by the aid it receives, ii. 278. Abitrary power steals upon a people, by being rarely exercised, iii. 151. Persons possessed of power ought to have a strong sense of religion, v. 173-188. Difficulty and importance of managing it well, 285, 7. Not easily abandoned, vi. 13. Dissension in the commonwealth mostly concerning the hands in which it is to be placed, 202. Necessity of teaching men to restrain the immoderate desire and exercise of it, *ibid.* Active power never placed by wise legislators in the hands of the multitude, *ibid.* Danger of a resumption of it by the people, 209. Not always connected with property, vii. 51. The possession of it discovers a man's true character, viii. 238. Men will make the greatest sacrifices to obtain it, x. 86. The supreme power in every constitution must be absolute, xiii. 172. Ends to which a superintending controlling power ought to be directed, xv. 340.

Prejudice,

Prejudice, cannot be created, ix. 405.
Prerogative, remarks on the exercise of it, iii. 180, 1.
Presbyterianism, remarks on it, vii. 177, 8.
Prescription, part of the law of nature, v. 276. The most recognised title in jurisprudence, ix. 451. x. 96.
Price, Doctor, observations on his sermon, v. 40. 50. 112. 115. 131.
Price of commodities, how raised, vii. 386. Danger of attempting to raise it by authority, 387.
Primogeniture, right of, impolicy of taking it away, ix. 328.
Principal of a debt cannot distress a nation, ii. 84.
Principalities, the, Mr. Burke's proposal to unite them to the crown, iii. 269.
Privations, all *general* ones, great, i. 177.
Profit, an honest and fair one, the best security against avarice and rapacity, iii. 316.
Property ought greatly to predominate over ability in the representation, v. 107. Importance of the power of perpetuating it, 108. Not inseparably connected with power, vii. 51.
Proportion, what, i. 205. Not the cause of beauty in vegetables, 207. Nor in animals, 210. Nor in the human species, 212. Whence the notion of it arose, 218.
Prosperity discovers the real character of a man, vi. 26. A constant prejudice in favour of it, vii. 144.
Protestant Association, animadversions on it, iii. 382. 415.
Protestant Ascendancy, observations on it, ix. 426.
Protestant, in what sense it was declared that the state should be so at the Revolution, vi. 316.
Protestantism, at no period established, *undefined*, in England, vi. 316-19.
Protestants, errors of the early ones, iii. 384. Misconduct of those in the south of France at the French Revolution, vii. 176, 7.
Provisions, trade of, danger of tampering with it, vii. 375.
Prudence, the first in rank of the political and moral virtues, vi. 98. Its decisions differ from those of judicature, 309. Its rules and definitions seldom exact, never universal, viii. 87.
Psalms, abound in instances of the union of a sacred awe with our ideas of the Deity, i. 175.
Publick affairs, state of them previous to the formation of the Rockingham administration, ii. 148. Publick men not all equally corrupt, iii. 198. Publick service, means of rewarding it necessary in every state, 310-16.

Punishment, considerations necessary to be observed in inflicting it, vii. 195. ix. 268. Inflicted by the Saxons, remarks on the nature of it, x. 359, 60.
Purveyance and *receipt in kind*, what, iii. 279, 80. Taken away by Charles II. 280. And afterwards revived, *ibid.*
Pythagoras, his discipline contrasted with that of Socrates, x. 190. Silence why enjoined by him, *ibid.*

R.

Raleigh, Sir *Walter*, addressed in harsh language on his trial, by Lord Coke, xv. 24, 5.
Ransom, by auction (in American taxation) method of it impracticable, iii. 114.
Raymond, Count of Tholouse, engages in the Crusade, x. 424.
Reason, sound, no real virtue without it, vi. 30. Never inconvenient but when it comes to be applied, ix. 356.
Reasoners, men often the worst reasoners for having been ministers, ii. 94.
Reform, in government should be early and temperate, iii. 247, 8. And slow, v. 305, 6.
Reformation, different from change, viii. 19. Observations on it, ix. 319, 20. v. 304, 5, 6. vi. 136. x. 72.
Reformation, The, observations on it, iii. 383. Effects of it, vii. 14.
Reformations, in England, have all proceeded upon the principle of reference to antiquity, v. 75.
Reformers, English, conduct of them, v. 272, 3.
Regicide, by establishment, what, viii. 169, 70.
Religion, the Christian, overcame all opposition, x. 25. The magistrate has a right to direct the exterior ceremonies of it, 31. Writers against it, never set up any of their own, i. 8. Effects of it on the colonists of America, iii. 52. The basis of civil society, and the source of all good, and of all comfort, v. 173. Respected in England, 176. A strong sense of it necessary to those in power, 177. 188. Mischievous consequences of changing it, except under strong conviction, vii. 179.
Religious opinions, not the only cause of enthusiasm, viii. 237.
Repetition of the same story, effects of it, vii. 25.
Representation, of America in the British Parliament, impossible, ii. 139. Ought to represent the ability as well as the property of a state, v. 107. Comparison between the representation of England, and that of France in the National Assembly, 336. *Virtual* representation, what, vi. 360. *Natural*, what, viii. 141.

Representation to his Majesty on the speech from the Throne, iv. 139.
Representative, his duty to his constituents, iii. 18-22. 249. 344-9.
Republican Government, remarks on, vi. 133, 4.
Reputation, publick, how to be preserved, xiii. 17.
Resemblance, pleasing to the imagination, i. 105.
Responsibility, nature of it, v. 361. viii. 420.
Revenge, observations on it, xv. 30.
Revenue, great importance of it to a state, v. 403, 4. Demands great ability for its management, *ibid.*
Revolution, the, of 1688, diminished influence of the Crown at that time how compensated, ii. 230. Brief remarks on it, v. 18-21. vi. 96. Principles of it in the *Declaration of Right*, 50. Grounds of it, vi. 148.
Revolution in France, general observations on it, v. 9-18. Characterized as a revolution of *doctrine and theoretic dogma*, vii. 13.
Revolution Society, correspond with the National Assembly of France, v. 32. Its origin and character, *ibid.*
Reynolds, Sir *Joshua*, an excellent observation of his on taste, vi. 265.
Rich, need the consolations of religion, v. 193. Their duties stated, vii. 376.
Richard I. brief account of his reign, x. 489. Parallel between him and Charles XII. of Sweden, 502.
Richelieu, Cardinal, hated by Louis XIII. v. 358.
Rights, presumed, their effects of great weight in deciding on their validity, vi. 228.
" *Rights* of Men," theory of, animadversions on it, v. 120-7. The rights of men often sophistically confounded with their power, 127.
Robespierre, his character, ix. 66.
Rochford, Lord, his conduct with regard to Corsica, ii. 273.
Rockingham, Marquis of, formation of his administration, ii. 146. State of publick affairs at the time, 148. Character and conduct of it, 157. Ideas of it with regard to America, 177. His lordship's conduct in American affairs, 399.
Roland, character of him, vii. 301.
Roman Catholicks, Mr. Burke's defence of his Parliamentary conduct with regard to them, iii. 381. Letter on the penal laws against them, vi. 271. Mode of education necessary for their clergy, 284. Condition of the clergy before the restraints on marriage, 285. Mischievous effects of placing the appointment of the Irish Roman catholick

catholick clergy in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant, 289-293.
Roman politicks, under the Emperors different from those which actuated the Republick, x. 219. Procurators under the Emperors, why invested with greater powers than the Legates, 225, 6. Military ways, origin, nature, and extent of them, 229, 30. Nature of the revenues, 230.
Romans, methods by which they held their dominion over conquered nations, x. 223-29.
Rome, ancient, examples from its history to shew the danger of an attempt to feed the people out of the hands of the magistrates, vii. 403. Destroyed by the disorders of continual elections, x. 83. And by its heavy taxes, 232. Bounds of the Empire first contracted by Adrian, 233. The third great change after the dissolution of the Commonwealth, what, 240.
Rota, in the French Republick, remarks on it, vii. 52.
Rotund, grand effect of it, i. 183. Accounted for, *ibid.*
Rousseau, Mr. Hume's account from himself of the secret of his principles of composition, v. 308, 9. The leaders in the National Assembly endeavour to imitate him, vi. 30. Vanity his prevailing passion, 32. Brief character of him, 32, 3. Totally destitute of taste, 37. His reprehensible ideas on the passions in the *Nouvelle Eloise*, 37, 8. Character of his style, 39, 40.
Russell, Baron, the first, his character, viii. 38.
Russia, the Emperor of, his character, viii. 313, 14.
Russian treaty of commerce, ii. 185.

S.

Sacheverel, Doctor, impeachment of him carried on by the Whigs for the purpose of stating the principles of the Revolution, vi. 145. Extracts from his trial, 149.
Salaries, observations on a tax upon them, iii. 250-3.
Salladine, Sultan of Egypt, Palestine reduced by him, x. 491. Defeated by Richard I. 493.
Sallust, remarks on his finely contrasted characters of Cæsar and Cato, i. 233.
Salt, monopolized by the French government, ii. 87.
Santerre, his brutal conduct to Louis XVI. ix. 113.
Sarazens, their character and operations, x. 370.
Savile, Sir *George*, his character, iii. 392. His act for the repeal of a penal statute of William III. 393-408.

Saxons, a brief account of their laws and institutions, x. 326-68. Wholly altered in England since the Conquest, 553. Sources of them, 564. The question whether the crown was elective or hereditary, discussed, 334.
Scarcity, thoughts and details on it, vii. 375. Policy of Government in times of, 403, 4.
Scotland, beneficial effects of its union with England, iii. 216. Remarks on the Church of Scotland, vi. 318.
Scripture, indefinite nature of subscription to it, x. 18.
Scythians, what part of Europe inhabited by them, x. 166.
Selden, his observations on *witnesses*, xiv. 416.
Self-preservation, the strongest of all the passions, i. 132. The sublime, an idea belonging to it, 201.
Senses, general remarks on them, i. 99. Ought to be put under the tuition of the judgment, iv. 200.
Serpent, why an object of veneration, x. 197.
Shakespear, his description of the king's army in Henry IV. an example of the sublime, i. 188.
Shelburne, Lord, animadversions on a passage in his speech, ii. 140-6.
Silence, why enjoined by Pythagoras and the Druids, x. 190.
Sirach, son of, fine example of the sublime from his Book of Wisdom, i. 189.
Slaves, not so beneficial to their masters as freemen, vii. 393.
Smells, remarks on, i. 198-252.
Smith, Sir *Sydney*, observations on his conduct, viii. 287.
Smoothness, why beautiful? i. 287.
Social nature impels a man to propagate his principles, viii. 237.
Society, natural, what, i. 12. Notion of, how first taught, *ibid.* Political society, what, *ibid.* vi. 205. Its continuance under a permanent covenant, v. 183, 4. Society and solitude compared, 139. Great object of it, what, ix. 366.
Socrates, his discipline contrasted with that of Pythagoras, x. 190.
Solitude, something may be done in it for the benefit of society, vii. 367.
Somers, Lord, the *Declaration of Right* framed by him, v. 53.
Sophia, the Princess, why named in the Act of Settlement as the root of inheritance to the kings of England, v. 63.
Sophia, St. church of, anecdote of the Greeks assembled there when Mahomet II. entered Constantinople, ix. 107.
Sound, a source of the sublime, i. 194. Grand effect of a single one repeated at short intervals, 195. Intermitting one productive of the sublime, 196. The beautiful in sounds, 249.

Spain, how likely to be affected by the Revolution in France, vii. 38. Not a substantive power, 94.

Speech, by Mr. Burke on the American taxation, ii. 350. On his arrival at Bristol, iii. 5. To the electors of Bristol on being elected, 11. On moving the resolutions for a conciliation with the colonies, 25. On economical reform, 231. At the Guildhall in Bristol, upon certain points relative to his parliamentary conduct, 355. In Parliament on Mr. Fox's East India Bill, iv. 3. On the Nabob of Arcot's debts, 195 On the Army Estimates, v. 3. At Bristol, 1780, on declining the poll, iii. 431. On the Acts of Uniformity, x. 3. On the Bill for the relief of Protestant Dissenters, 22. On the Petition of the Unitarians, 41. On the Middlesex election, 63. On a Bill for shortening the duration of Parliaments, 72. On the Reform of the Representation in the House of Commons, 92. On the powers of Juries in prosecutions for Libels, 109. Speeches in Westminster Hall at the trial of Warren Hastings, esq. xiii. 2. xiv. 278. Speeches in Westminster Hall, in reply to the defence of Warren Hastings, esq. viii. 1 to 586.

Spelman, difficulties overcome by him in the study of the law, x. 553.

Spirituous liquors, beneficial effects of them, vii. 412.

Spon, Mr. his curious story of Campanella, i. 261.

Spring, the, why the pleasantest of the seasons, i. 186.

Stability, one of the requisites of a good peace, ii. 39.

Stafford, Lord, extract from his trial, xiv. 317. Remarks on the prosecution, 421.

Stamp Act, American, origin and progress of it, ii. 153. Repealed, 3. 158. Motives for the repeal, 161. 170. Good effects of the repeal, 174. 417.

Stanhope, General, extract from his speech at the trial of Doctor Sacheverel, vi. 156.

Starry Heaven, why productive of the idea of grandeur, i. 187.

State, the, meaning of the term, vi. 306. Important considerations respecting the question of vesting it in some one description of citizens, 309.

States, varieties in their progress to perfection and decay, viii. 79. Not necessarily subject to the laws which determine the duration of individuals, vii. 366. viii. 78. Those which bound their efforts only with their being must give law to those which will not push their opposition beyond their convenience, 90.

Statesmen should chiefly study the temper of the people, ii. 218, 19. Character of an able one, v. 285. vii. 416, 17. Differ from professors in the universities, x. 41.
Stonehenge, grand, why, i. 187. Observations on it, x. 191.
Stones, rude ones, why objects of veneration, x. 197.
Strafford, Earl of, a protestation of the House of Commons on his trial, xiv. 294, 5. Remarks on the prosecution, 422, 3.
Sublime and Beautiful, an enquiry into the origin of our ideas of them, i. 121. Stand on very different foundations, 237. Comparison between them, 253. On the efficient cause of them, 255. How produced, 262.
Sublime, the strongest emotion of the mind, i. 133. Its cause, *ibid.* Its nature, 150. In all things abhors mediocrity, 192. An idea belonging to self-preservation, 201. Why produced by visual objects of great dimensions, 266.
Succession, effects of it in visual objects explained, i. 273. The principle of hereditary succession recognised at the Revolution, v. 51-3.
Suddenness, a source of the sublime, i. 195. Accounted for, *ibid.*
Suffering, all must be prepared for it who aspire to act greatly, viii. 99.
Sully, M. *de*, an observation of his on revolutions in a state, ii. 224.
Superstition, nature of it, v. 288.
Surplus, produce, nature, and application of it, v. 290-4.
Sweetness, its nature, i. 288. Relaxing, 291.
Sympathy, observations on it, i. 140-8. viii. 284.

T.

Taille, the, nature of it, ii. 85. 88.
Tanistry, what, x. 333.
Tallien, the regicide, his brutal conduct, ix. 115.
Tamerlane, his conquests in Hindostan, xiii. 77. Remarks on his Institutes, 181. xv. 76.
Taste, discourse concerning it, i. 95. Definition of it, 98. Want of it, whence, 115. A wrong or bad one, what, 116. A good one, *ibid.* Effect of the judgment upon it, 117. Taste and elegance of no mean importance in the regulation of life, vi. 36.
Tax upon salaries, remarks upon it, iii. 250-3
Taxes, mode of levying them in commercial colonies, an important and difficult consideration, ii. 114. Nature of several in America, 116. Remarks on taxes on different establishments,

establishments, 132-4. The great contests for freedom in England, chiefly upon the question of taxing, iii. 50. Remarks on English taxes, viii. 355.

Terror, often the source of delight, i. 143. A cause of the sublime, 158. Produces an unnatural tension of the nerves, 259. How the cause of delight, 263.

Test Act, observation on it, vi. 325.

Thanes, origin and character of them, x. 337.

Theatrical entertainments, remarks on them, v. 158. viii. 392, 3. Made an affair of state by the French regicides, ix. 117.

Theodorus, Archbishop of Canterbury, character of him, x. 275.

"*Three Seals*," the history of the affair so called, xiii. 103, 4.

Time blends the conquered with conquerors, vi. 335.

Toleration in England, what, v. 274. Ought to be tender and large, vi. 318. Not opposed to Christianity, x. 24. Not afforded by the heathens, 32.

Toulon, fleet of, injudicious measures of the English government with regard to it, vii. 168.

Townshend, Charles, his character, ii. 422.

Trade, sometimes seems to perish when it only assumes a different form, ii. 63. Quickly and deeply affected by taxes, 161. State of it how to be judged of, viii. 402.

Trade, Board of, origin and operations of it, iii. 322-33.

Tragedy, observations on the effect of it, i. 144. General remarks on it, x. 153. Great personages always the objects of it, xv. 197.

Transmigration of souls, origin of the doctrine, x. 191.

Treasurer's Staff, Lord Coke's remarks on the use of it, iii. 340.

Trent, Council of, effect of its regulations respecting seminaries, vi. 285.

Triangle, the form of it, the poorest in effect of all visible figures, i. 185.

Triennial Parliaments, disadvantages of them, x. 81-89.

Trinoda necessitas, in Saxon law, what, x. 367, 8.

Turkey, power sought there with avidity, notwithstanding the known danger of its tenure, x. 86.

Tyranny, augmented by contumely, iv. 67. The desire of it often lurks in the claim of an extravagant liberty, vi. 141. Never learns moderation from unsuccessful oppression, xiii. 319, 20.

U.

Ugliness, opposite to beauty, but not to proportion and fitness, nor to sublimity, i. 245.
Uniformity of parts and succession necessary to our idea of artificial infinite, i. 182.
Universal, nothing universal can be rationally affirmed on any moral or political subject, vi. 97.
Use to be attended to in works of art, i. 188. Use and habit not the cause of pleasure, i. 222.

V.

Vanity, nature and tendency of it, vi. 32.
Variation, beautiful, why, i. 293.
Vastness, a cause of the sublime, i. 179. Unity why necessary to it, i. 268.
Vattel, extracts from his Law of Nations respecting alliances, cases of interference with independent powers, &c. vii. 201-215. xv. 109.
Venice, republick of, its regulations with respect to offices of state, vi. 307. How originated, x. 375. Acquires the island of Cyprus, 492. The only state in Europe which derived any advantage from the crusades, *ibid.*
Verbal description, a means of raising a stronger emotion than painting, i. 162.
Vice, a transition to it from virtue seldom suddenly made, ii. 198. In common society receives palliating names, xv. 28.
Vices, obscure and vulgar ones often blended with great talents, vi. 32.
Vicinity, civil, law of, what, viii. 185-7.
Virgil, his description of Fame obscure and magnificent, i. 167. The combination of images of a tremendous dignity in his description of the mouth of hell, 178. A passage from him illustrative of the sublime effect of the cries of animals, 197. And of smells, 199. Examples of fine painting, 313. viii. 21.
Virtue, progress of a transition from it to Vice in publick men, described, ii. 198-202. Will spread as well as Vice by contact, iii. 201. Enumeration of those virtues which cause admiration, i. 232. Enumeration of the softer virtues, *ibid.* How far the idea of beauty may be applied to it, 234.
Visual objects, of great dimensions, why sublime, i. 267. Effect of succession in them explained, 273.
Voters, in England, more in the spirit of the constitution to lessen than to enlarge their number, ii. 135.

W.

Wages, the rate of them has no direct relation to the price of provisions, vii. 379.

Wales, injudiciously and mischievously governed by England for 200 years, iii. 84-7. Alteration of the system in the reign of Henry VIII. 86.

Wales, Frederick, prince of, project of government devised in his court, ii. 232-5. Considered, 236, 7. Nature and design of it, 241. Name of it, 256.

Walpole, Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert), extract from his speech on the trial of Doctor Sacheverel, vi. 158. Forced into the war with Spain by the people of England, vii. 145. Remarks on his character, 146, 7.

War, the original cause of it often very far from being the principal purpose, ii. 43. Economy not easily reconciled with it, 59. Labourers and manufacturers not capable of understanding the grounds of it, vii. 262. War of England with the French Republick, a war with an *armed doctrine*, viii. 98. Can never be carried on long against the will of the people, 139. General observations on it, 163. The power of making it, why put under the discretion of the crown, 202, 3. Principle of the law of nature with regard to it, ix. 385.

Warwick, Earl of, extract from his trial, and observations on it, xiv. 318.

Water, why venerated by the Druids, x. 195.

Weakness, human, seldom pitied by those who applaud prosperous folly or successful guilt, vi. 227.

Wealth, internal, consists in useful commodities as much as in gold and silver, ii. 74. A certain standard by which to estimate the character of a government, v. 238. Can never rank first in England, vii. 23, 4. Ought always to be subservient to virtue and publick honour, viii. 88. Remark of a foreigner on the display of it in the shops in London, 405.

Whigs, the great connexion of them in the reign of Queen Anne, ii. 333, 4. The impeachment of Doctor Sacheverel carried on by them for the purpose of stating the true principles of the Revolution, vi. 145. A statement of the principles of the new Whigs, 147. Another statement from their writings, 187-200. Their opinion with respect to the power of the people over the Commonwealth, 200.

——— *Appeal from the New to the Old*, vi. 73.

Wilkes, Mr. his contest with the court party, ii. 294. Pretence for punishing him, 299.

Will

Will and Duty contradictory terms, vi. 204, 5. Our duty not dependent on it, 205, 6.

William of Normandy, extraordinary facility of his conquest of England accounted for, x. 322. Reasons assigned for his numerous followers, 377. Brief account of his reign, 379. Amount of his revenue, 392-401. His character, 411, 12.

William III. his elevation to the throne an act not of *choice* but of *necessity*, v. 52, 3. His judicious appointment of able men to the episcopal bench, vi. 17. The spirited address of the Commons to him respecting the war against France, viii. 155. Origin of that war, 150. Singular address with which he conducted it, 157. Address of the House of Lords respecting it, 159.

Wintoun, Lord, extracts from his trial, xiv. 305.

Wisdom of the Son of Sirach, example of the sublime from it, i. 189.

Wishes, vehement, the discovery of them generally frustrates their accomplishment, viii. 101.

Wit and Judgment, difference between them, i. 106.

Words, the best means of communicating the affections of the mind, i. 162. Affect us in a manner very different from natural objects, painting, or architecture, 302. Three sorts of them, *ibid.* General words before ideas, 305. Effect of them, 306. Aggregate words do not necessarily operate by presenting images to the mind, 307. Exemplified in the case of Blacklock, 309, and of Saunderson, 310. Words the only means by which many ideas have been presented to the mind, 317. Much mischief arises from them ix. 433, 4. The world much influenced by them, xv. 21.

Writers, when they act in a body, have much influence on the publick mind, v. 210.

THE END.

BOOKS

Lately Published by

C. AND J. RIVINGTON,

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, AND

WATERLOO-PLACE, PALL-MALL.

I.

The WORKS of the RIGHT HONOURABLE EDMUND BURKE,

Complete in 16 volumes, 8vo. With a General Index, 5*l.* 16*s.*

II.

The EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE of the RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE and DR. FRENCH LAURENCE. Published from the Original Manuscripts. 8vo. 8*s.* 6*d.*

III.

HOMERI ILIAS, chiefly from the Text of Heyne. With copious ENGLISH NOTES, illustrating the Grammatical Construction; the Manners and Customs, the Mythology and Antiquities of the Heroic Ages; and Preliminary Observations on Points of Classical Interest and Importance connected with Homer and his Writings. By the Rev. W. TROLLOPE, M. A. late of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and one of the Masters of Christ's Hospital. In 2 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 4*s.*

IV.

The HISTORY OF ROME, Now first translated from the German of G. B. NIEBUHR. By F. A. WALTER, Esq. F.R.S.L. One of the Librarians of the British Museum. With Two large Maps. In 2 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 4*s.*

"The History of *Niebuhr* has thrown new light on our knowledge of Roman affairs, to a degree, of which those, who are unacquainted with it, can scarcely form an adequate idea. We shall consider ourselves to have devoted some of our pages to an useful purpose if we make them instrumental in introducing the work before us to the knowledge of the British public, and in impressing our readers with a sense of its high excellence."—*Quarterly Review, July* 1825.

"We have no hesitation in recommending the Translation now before us, which is executed in a vigorous style, and with a degree of fidelity and accuracy highly creditable to Mr. Walter."—*Monthly Review, April* 1827.

RETUR
TO—
I

University of California
SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90024-1388
Return this material to the library
from which it was borrowed.

UCLA-College Library
PR 3334 B4 1826 v.16
L 005 666 685 2

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
A 001 161 474 0

EAST INDIA COLLEGE
AVSPICIO REGIS SENATVS